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DECOLONISING THE MIND? NATIONAL IDENTITY AND HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN CAMEROONIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS.

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The thesis focuses on history textbooks in the contemporary Anglophone Cameroon and aims at studying what kind of history consciousness and national identity is promoted in the textbooks. History is essential for the forming of national identity. School textbooks reveal officially recognised historical truths in a country, and therefore provide a fruitful source for studies on historical consciousness and national identity. Eurocentrism and western traditions of historiography are essential to take into account in the African context. Also in Cameroon, the schooling was originally established by colonial regimes and aimed at colonizing the mind of the natives. Colonial heritage has shaped the history writing in the African context until the present day and has its effects also on the analysed Cameroonian textbooks.

The production of a nationally distinguished publishing house Anucam Educational Books (ANUCAM) was chosen, because of the vast potential that lays in the national publishing industry in African countries, including in Cameroon. The levels of education covered primary (classes 4–6) and lower secondary education (forms 1–5) where the enrolment rates are higher than in the upper secondary education. The historical consciousness is likely to have a more significant basis in these levels of education.

Both quantitative (space analysis) and qualitative content analysis (imagology) were used in analyzing the textbooks. I first sketched quantitative tables on the geographical division of the textbook contents into world history, regional history (history of Africa and Europe) and the national history (history of Cameroon). The majority of contents discusses national history (32 %) and the history of Africa (32 %). With a share of 15 %, the history of Europe has a significant role in the textbooks. As regards the timely periods, the contemporary history is almost totally absent. For example, the past 30 years of the history of Cameroon, hence the period under the rule of president Paul Biya, is covered with only 5 %.

In the qualitative analysis it will be examined, how the “self” and the “nation” are perceived in the textbooks. In examining the image provided of the “self”, the narratives examined are: the origins of Cameroon and the Cameroonians, the “exterior self” and the relation of the “self” with the Western civilisation. The entire formation of Cameroon is seen as a European creation, terminology stemming from the colonial interpretations, is used in descriptions on the Cameroonians and the image of the Western civilisation is loaded with positive connotations of development.

In examining the image of the “nation”, the narratives were linked with the state-produced discourse of “national unity”. The process of becoming independent was examined as well as images of leading historical figures and the presidents of Cameroon. Achieving independence appears as a destined historical thread in the textbooks. Leading historical figures are represented necessary for the national unity, which again is seen central for the prosperity of civilisations. Mostly without any criticism or analytical reflection, the presidents are presented as creators of this national unity in Cameroon.

Taking into account the central role of history in the forming of national identity, it seems surprising that textbook content analyses in the African context are largely absent. When aiming at improving the quality of education, it is not enough to focus on increasing the access to textbooks. As the international discourse on educational development goals Post-2015 is increasingly tuned to learning, more attention should be paid also to the quality of learning materials. Textbook content analysis can support national efforts of improving the quality of learning materials – an objective explicitly expressed also by the government of Cameroon in its educational policy lines.

Keywords: Africa, Cameroon, history, textbook, historiography, historical consciousness, colonialism, national identity, nation-building, school subject, content analysis
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INTRODUCTION

This study examines national identity and historical consciousness as they appear in the history textbooks in Cameroon. I take the following statement of Alexis Ngatcha, who has studied German language education in Cameroon, as a starting point of my study:

*The dramatic stagnation and the under-development of many African countries with a colonial past is partly a result of the fact that neither in the past nor today, has school education provided key competences for the successful transformation of societies suffering from enormous challenges. [---]. The postcolonial period comes to an end only when future-oriented teaching and learning processes are taking place, thereby bringing youth to critically reflect on their role in the positive development and transformation of their living environments.* (Ngatcha 2002, p. 15).

Ngatcha refers to Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy, according to which all education is politically loaded. Education can be regarded as a tool for intellectual emancipation and empowerment, for adaptation to prevailing power structures, or at worse – for well-planned intellectual oppression and indoctrination. Hence, there is no neutral, objective education. Especially in countries with a colonial past, education should be efficiently harnessed for the “decolonization of the mind”. (Ngatcha 2002, p. 33).

After all, in many of the today’s developing countries with a colonial past, institutionalised education systems with formal structures and objectives were originally introduced and put in place by the colonial powers. Like in so many African countries, also in Cameroon education has its roots in European invaders’ ideologies of “civilising the uncivilised” or “liberating” the natives from their “natural state”, first and foremost practiced by the missionaries. The missionaries’ work was supported – even militarily – by the colonial regimes who aimed at establishing permanent administrative structures in the territories where missionaries had gained a firm foothold. The Germans were the first to establish an institutionalised education in Cameroon, and they used education as a means of bringing up a carefully selected intellectual indigeneous elite loyal to the German colonial regime. Ultimately, the aim was to secure the economic exploitation of the colonial territories. Colonising the mind of the local people through schooling can in fact be regarded as

If the entire education system is politically loaded, history as a school subject has an especially strong political dimension. Interpretations of history shape the national identity. Despite the evident role of history in the nation building processes, there is a gap in research of the African context with the focus on historical consciousness and how it is constructed through schooling. History textbooks provide a fruitful source for examining officially recognised historical truths in a country. Especially in countries with thin pedagogical structures and multiple educational challenges, textbooks have a fundamental role in the teaching and learning process. (Kipré 2005, p. 167).

International organisations’ studies and reports such as those of the World Bank focus mainly on textbook production and the distribution chain, book markets and financial structures, with aims to find solutions for easing the alarming lack of learning materials in many countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. Improving access to textbooks is recognised as one of the most cost-effective and efficient interventions in improving the quality of education and learning. (Ridell 2008, pp. 13–14). The need to improve access to (pedagogically sound) textbooks is undisputed. However, it is simultaneously of great importance to focus on analysing the contents of learning materials – including history textbooks – in order to examine, what kind of citizenship, values and skills they promote.

Interestingly, content analyses of African textbooks are almost entirely lacking. The lack of access to textbooks may be one of the reasons for this. In general, African countries also face multiple challenges on all levels of education. In Sub-Saharan Africa alone, there were still more than 30 million primary school aged children out of school in 2010. (UNESCO 2012, p. 355). Like other Sub-Saharan African countries, also Cameroon suffers from high drop-out rates and low enrolment in secondary education. In the midst of such a mixture of challenges, analysing the textbook contents does not seem to rise in the priority list of national interventions in educational planning. In the rush to meet quantitative challenges of access to education, globally the development of education has focused on systemic efficiency with not enough attention to learning. Less tangible objectives of learning and especially the non-cognitive skills such as attitudes, values, self-esteem, problem solving and critical reasoning have remained widely neglected.
(UNESCO 2012, pp. 123 and 187–189). Relevance and quality of learning seem – with reason – to be coming on to the global development agenda of education “Post-2015” (Burnett 2012, p. 8). This may indicate a globally growing interest in the quality and contents of learning materials.

My focus in this thesis is on the Anglophone Cameroon, hence in the provinces of North West (Nord Ouest) and South West (Sud Ouest), where English is the primary language of the state’s two official languages. (See the administrative map of Cameroon in the appendix 1). Due to the colonial past of Cameroon, the second official language is French. Cameroon was the first country in Africa to choose bilingualism after becoming independent. Cameroon is also the only African country with a colonial past with three colonial powers (Germany, United Kingdom and France). I have focused on history textbooks used in the primary (classes 4–6) and lower secondary (forms 1–5) schools in Anglophone Cameroon. Thus, the books are used by pupils between the ages of 8 and 16. I have chosen to study the production of the Anucam Educational Books (ANUCAM) publishing house, which is one of the few Cameroonian publishers, and one of the most established ones.

The first section of this study will provide the background for the study. The state of development and societal challenges in Cameroon are examined. A brief overview of the history of Cameroon is provided to help understanding the state-driven discourse of “national unity” which has an impact on the national educational objectives. After briefly examining the primary and secondary education in Cameroon, the research questions and the methodology for this study will be discussed. History education’s role in nation building and the challenges of African historiography – hence, the impacts of European interpretations and approaches to history – will be examined. Colonial heritage has shaped the history writing in the African context until the present day and has its effects also on the analysed textbooks. Finally, history education and the availability of textbooks in Cameroon will be discussed. The challenges of the domestic publishing industry compared with multinational enterprises are also examined. Because it is essential to get an idea of the analysed textbooks’ actual use in Cameroon, also the ANUCAM’s role in the Cameroonian book textbook market as a domestic publishing house is discussed.
The second section will focus on analysing the textbooks. Both quantitative and qualitative content analysis will be used. First, an overview of the division of history contents into world history, regional history (history of Africa and Europe examined separately) and national history (history of Cameroon) is presented. Partly using the quantitative analysis as the basis, the national history is then further examined, dividing the analysis into the historical period of the pre-colonial and colonial history of Cameroon on the one hand, and the decolonisation process and post-colonial period on the other. In the former, the focus will be on examining the images constructed of the “self” in the textbooks. Here, it is essential to understand the impacts of a Eurocentric approach to history. In the latter part, the focus is on examining the images constructed of the “nation”, where the state-driven discourse of national unity is an essential element.
I SETTING THE SCENE FOR THE STUDY

1. COUNTRY BACKGROUND

1.1. Prosperous settings, poor state of development

The Republic of Cameroon is one of the Sub-Saharan African countries in Central Africa. Cameroon is slightly larger than Sweden and bordered by Nigeria to the west, Chad to the north, Central African Republic to the east and Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and the Republic of the Congo to the south. According to the World Bank statistics, Cameroon had a population of around 20 million in 2011, 57 % of them living in urban areas (2008). As in many Sub-Saharan African countries, also in Cameroon the population is becoming very young with 41 % of the population aged below 14 years.

The poverty headcount ratio (2007) is estimated at round 40 % and the unemployment rate at 30%. The World Bank rates Cameroon with its GDP per capita of $1.14 as a “lower middle income country”. According to the annual Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Cameroon ranked number 150 in 2011 among the 187 countries worldwide. In Cameroon, life expectancy at birth is 51.6 years, the mean years of schooling 5.9, the expected years of schooling 10.3 and the Gross National Income (GNI) per capita 2.0. The UNDP classifies Cameroon, Nigeria, Chad and the Central African Republic as of low human development, whereas the Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon rank to countries of a medium human development. (UNDP 2011, p. 126).

1 The World Bank defines the National poverty rate as “the percentage of the population living below the national poverty line. National estimates are based on population-weighted subgroup estimates from household surveys. (World Bank, retrieved 25 July 2012 from http://data.worldbank.org/country/cameroon.

2 Taking into consideration a larger group of Cameroon’s neighboring countries, Cameroon appears to position in the middle: Nigeria was in the position 156, Chad ranked number 183, Central African Republic 179, Republic of Congo 137, Equatorial Guinea 136 and Gabon 106. Ranking is based on the human development index (HDI), which aims to measure the average achievement of a country in three basic dimensions of human development - a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living. Instead of only focusing on economic variables such as GDP, the HDI takes into account also variables such as life expectancy and expected years of schooling.

3 According to UNDP definitions, life expectancy at birth refers to the number of years that a newborn infant could expect to live “if prevailing patterns of age-specific mortality rates at the time of birth stay the same
Cameroon has often been called “Africa in miniature”, due to the variety of geographic zones and differences in climate and vegetation. This enables the cultivation of a great variety of export crops such as cocoa, coffee, bananas and cotton. The country is also rich in minerals and oil production started in the 1950’s. The discovery of petroleum in the 1970’s was a great boost to Cameroon’s economy. (DeLancey 2010, pp. 11–13). Cameroon has gained increasing strategic importance as a source of oil and natural gas – oil being its major export commodity. (Cumming 2007, p. 117; Crisis Group 2010a, p. 24; Crisis Group 2012, p. 3). Cameroon has made notable economic progress since independence in 1960. For example, in 2006 the country reached the completion point of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt relief programme. However, Cameroon has not been able to change the dependent nature of its economy. (DeLancey 2010, p. 14).

Around 70 % of the population of Cameroon are Christians – Protestants and Catholic evenly divided, round 20 % are Muslims and round 6 % animists (US Department of State 2010). The population is ethnically and linguistically highly diverse – more than 230 languages are spoken in the country (World Bank 2012, p. 10). Due to its colonial past, the official languages are French and English, and the bilingualism is – as the first country in Africa – constitutionally ensured. This diversity is acknowledged in the constitution, which also emphasizes national unity:

_We, the people of Cameroon, Proud of our linguistic and cultural diversity, an enriching feature of our national identity, but profoundly aware of the imperative need to further consolidate our unity, solemnly declare that we constitute one and the same Nation, bound by the same destiny, and assert our firm determination to build the Cameroonian Fatherland on the basis of the ideals of fraternity, justice and progress; [--] the State shall guarantee the promotion of bilingualism throughout the country.”_ (Republic of Cameroon 1996).

_Throughout the infant’s life”, mean years of schooling_ refers to the “average number of years of education received by people ages 25 and older, converted from education attainment levels using official durations of each level”, the _expected years of schooling_ refers to the number of years of schooling that a child of school entrance age “can expect to receive if prevailing patterns of age-specific enrolment rates persist throughout the child’s life”. _Gross national income_ (GNI) per capita refers to the “aggregate income of an economy generated by its production and its ownership of factors of production, less the incomes paid for the use of factors of production owned by the rest of the world, converted to international dollars using purchasing power parity (PPP) rates, divided by midyear population.” (UNDP 2011, p. 130).
Despite the government rhetoric to maintain and promote national unity, there are untreated fractures between the north and the rest of the country, between the Anglophone minority and Francophone majority and a multitude of politicized ethnic divisions (International Crisis Group 2010a, pp.1 and 25–26).

In the Transparency International rankings, Cameroon was listed as the most corrupt country in 1998. Among the 183 countries listed in 2012 Cameroon ranked 144. Social inequality has increased as the number of the very rich has increased while the mass of the poor has continued to grow. The youth unemployment in 2005 was 13 %, but in urban areas such as in Douala, the official number of the Cameroon’s National Statistics was 22 %. (International Crisis Group 2010a, p. 26; International Crisis Group 2010b, p. 12). Informal sector with small and insecure salaries is the biggest employer. Under-employment among highly educated people is also a source of frustration. Half of the 50 000 motorcycle taxi drivers in Douala held a university degree in 2005. (International Crisis Group 2010b, p. 12).

The centralised government is firmly in the hands of Paul Biya, the president since 1982, and his party Cameroon People’s Democratic Movement CPDM. One could speak of a “party-state”, as the influence and control of the CPDM reaches out to all elementary state functions. Civil servants are expected to be loyal to the president, the media practices broad self-censorship. Security forces, including police, whose occasionally arbitrary actions the regime seems to tolerate, are controlled by the regime. Added to these, the regime influences the entire justice system. (International Crisis Group 2010b, pp. 1 and 13–14; International Crisis Group 2010a, p. 26). The prevailing poverty and the corruption are causing broad frustration in the society. For example, in February 2008, broad demonstrations of citizens broke out in the administrative capital Yaoundé and the economic center Douala. The spontaneous movement was a protest against the rising food and fuel prices on the one hand, and against Biya’s aims to remove the constitutional restrictions on the number of presidential terms on the other. This indicated Biya’s will to run for the sixth term of president in the elections of 2011. The demonstrations were violently crushed by the security forces with tens of demonstrators killed and more than 1500 people arrested. (International Crisis Group 2010b, p. 23). Born in 1933, Biya was 78 years old when elected once again president in 2011.
To conclude, Cameroon has great potential for social prosperity and economic growth, but the wide-spread corruption sustain underdevelopment and inequality in the society, and perpetuate the poverty of the majority of population. The international community seems to tolerate the fragile elements in Cameroon caused by Biya’s regime, and continues hoping that the country would muddle through the potential sources of conflict instead of collapsing. The International Crisis Group defines Cameroon as a “classical fragile state” with the features of highly centralised and personalised governance, political manipulation of ethnic tensions and very widespread corruption. As a result, societal institutions remain weak and the populations’ participation in political processes is low. (International Crisis Group 2010a, pp. 1–24, 26). Gordon Cumming adds to the list the urban-rural divide, cleavages that separate the Muslim North from the essentially Christian south and the rift between the French-speaking majority and the English-speaking minority. (Cumming 2007, p. 116). As Mark Dike DeLancey states, 

> Endowed with a variety of climates and agricultural environments, numerous minerals and substantial forests, and a dynamic population, this is a country that should be a leader of Africa. Instead, we find a country with a low life expectancy and serious health problems, and a country from which the most talented and highly educated members of the population are emigrating in large numbers. (DeLancey 2010, pp. 1, 7–9).

Above, I presented an overview of the state of development in today’s Cameroon. In the following, a brief history of the country will be presented. Like in many former colonial territories, also in Cameroon, the societal challenges carry the heritage of a colonial past in many ways.

### 1.2. Brief history of Cameroon

#### 1.2.1. Colonial period: Cameroon as protectorate, mandates and trustees

Cameroon is the only African country with a history of three colonial rulers. In July 1884, a part of the coastal Cameroon around the city of Douala was annexed to German Empire by a “Germano–Douala treaty”, a treaty signed between the Douala ethnic group leaders and German firms. Gradually, the German Empire penetrated to inlands of the region and conquered the territory, thereby forming the foundations for Cameroon’s borders as they
are today. Cameroon was governed as a German protectorate (Schutzgebiet) until 1916, when it was unofficially partitioned between France and Britain – countries that fought against Germany in Cameroon during the First World War. (DeLancey and Mokeba 1990, pp. 78 and 169).

In 1922, the League of Nations made this arrangement legal when it converted the regions into “mandate territories”. 80 % of the territory and its population were to be governed by the French government, and the remaining 20 % by the United Kingdom. (International Crisis Group 2010a, p. 2. See the historical map of Cameroon in appendix 2). Due to this division, still today 20 % of the population speak English and 80 % French as a second language (Cumming 2007, p. 116). Both France and Britain ruled their territories using the traditional chieftaincies as intermediaries of administration. In areas, where there were not enough powerful chieftaincies at hand to be used for collecting taxes or mobilising labour for plantations or infrastructure construction sites, they were simply created. This created foundations for certain ethnic divisions and tensions of today’s Cameroon. (Geschiere 1993, pp. 151–152).

After the Second World War, in 1946 the mandates were converted into “trust territories” of the United Nations. By the UN Charter, Britain and France were obligated to develop their trust territories towards greater autonomy and ultimately independence. (DeLancey and Mokeba 1990, p. 196). In the Brazzaville Conference in 1944, General Charles de Gaulle declared a new, more just and liberal era to begin in the French colonial politics. However, the rhetoric was not to develop the French colonies politically for the independence. For example, in Cameroon the French government later participated in the violent suppression of the nationalist movements in the 1950’s – at the dawn of the independence of the French Cameroon. (Deltombe et al. 2011, p. 37).

1.2.2. Towards independence – reunification in 1961

The mandate period with international pressure coming from the UN, was central for the state and nation building of Cameroon. In both British and French trust territories, national assemblies were established. The Representative Assembly of Cameroon (Assemblée
Représentative du Cameroun, ARCAM) was established in 1946 in the French Cameroon. The British Cameroons was administered as part of Nigerian provinces, but the Lyttleton constitution in 1954 brought a degree of autonomy to the territory. (International Crisis Group 2010a, pp. 2–4). Labour unions and political parties were allowed to be established for the first time. The nationalist party “The Union of the Peoples of Cameroon” (Union des peuples du Cameroun, UPC) was formed by young and educated Cameroonians in the French Cameroon in 1948 and it became the first true mass party, gaining popularity also in the British Cameroons. The UPC criticised France’s colonial politics for the lack of support to political development. Ultimately, the party started to demand independence with the country borders as they had been during the German protectorate in 1914. (Nsoudou 2009, pp. 206–207; Deltombe et al. 2011, p. 40).

The French colonial regime was determined to silence the rising voices of the masses, and started a harassment campaign against the UPC. This led to an outburst of riots in the southwestern parts of the French Cameroon, especially in Douala in May 1955. The authorities violently suppressed the riots and the blame was put on the UPC. The UPC party was banned and it entered into a guerrilla war against the French administration. With the help of the pro-France Cameroonian authorities, broad search and destroy missions followed. The founder and leader of the party, Ruben Um Nyobe was assassinated by a combined French and Cameroonian mission in 1958. The last notable UPC leader, Ernest Ouandié was executed in public as late as in 1971. (International Crisis Group 2010a, pp. 5–8; Nsoudou 2009, p. 208). In January 1960, the French Cameroon was declared independent, thereby forming the Republic of Cameroon. Backed by France, the Prime Minister Ahmadou Ahidjo became the first president without any formal elections. (DeLancey and Mokeba 1990, p. 20).

The development in the British Cameroons also took a course towards ending the trusteeship system. As the neighbouring Nigeria and the French Cameroon had both become independent in 1960, the question of the future governance of the British Cameroons became topical. The United Nations coordinated the negotiations and put forward the option of integrating the area either to Nigeria or to the Republic of Cameroon.

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4 The ARCAM was replaced by the Territorial Assembly in 1952 (Assemblée Territoriale du Cameroun, ATCAM), by the Legislative Assembly in 1957 (Assemblée Territoriale du Cameroun, ALCAM) and finally by the National Assembly of Cameroon (ANCAM) in 1960. (DeLancey 1990, pp. 28–29).
(previously the French Cameroon). No option of becoming independent was given. The voting on integration to either one of the countries was organized separately in the British Southern and Northern Cameroons. In February 1961, the British Southern Cameroonian voted for merging with the Republic of Cameroon, whereas the British Northern Cameroonian voted for integration with Nigeria.  

Although the new state was made federal (the Federal Republic of Cameroon), the reunification was a disputed process, which left an English speaking minority discontent with their decreased political influence. Negotiations for forming a new federal constitution were led by Ahidjo, the president of the Republic of Cameroon, who aimed to ensure the interests of the Francophone Cameroon in the new federal state. The federal constitution ensured bilingualism with French and English as official languages, and the dual education system was maintained. However, against the will of the Anglophone Cameroon, the highly centralised model for governance adopted from France remained. Political decision making power was centralized in the federal capital, Yaoundé and the presidency became an institution with *de facto* unlimited power.

The British Southern Cameroon ceased to exist and was reduced to one of the six provinces, henceforth known as West Cameroon. No formal mechanisms were put in place to ensure that all provinces would receive financial allocations from the state budget. The allocations remained discretionary, subject to annual non-binding applications from provinces to Yaoundé. The discontent of the Western Cameroonians following the unbalanced power relations is in many studies described as the “Anglophone problem”. Until today, there are voices appearing in the West Cameroon, with demands for greater autonomy and even independence. (International Crisis Group 2010a, pp. 7–9; Abé 2006, p. 40).

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3 Britain’s colonial strategy had been to administer its territory as two separate entities (Northern and Southern Cameroons), which was to prevent nationalism from emerging. As a result, the territories had developed regional identities. (DeLancey and Mokeba 1990, pp. 150 and 187; International Crisis Group 2010a, pp. 2 and 6). (See the historical map of Cameroon in the appendix 2).

4 With the Francophone Cameroon I refer to the French-speaking part of the federal Cameroon, hence to the previous Republic of Cameroon. With the Anglophone Cameroon is referred to the previous British Southern Cameroons, the area that in 1961 voted for integration with the Republic of Cameroon.

5 Since the administrative reform of 1983, the area is divided into two provinces: the Northwest and the Southwest. (See the administrative map of Cameroon in the appendix 1).
1.2.3. Creating a centralised police state by Ahmadou Ahidjo

The early state building process in Cameroon was featured quite differently from many other African countries, where the post-colonial political leaders represented the authentic liberalisation movements. In Cameroon, France offered generous military support for the pro-France Ahidjo, who had become president without any formal elections, in his campaigns against the rallying nationalists. (Cumming 2007, p. 106). Ahidjo used the remaining insurgency of the UPC supporters as a pretext to declare a state of emergency and to centralize all executive power to himself. (International Crisis Group 2010a, pp. 6–7).

The mental legacy – indeed the history – of the UPC was abused and rewritten by Ahidjo’s regime, who virtually adopted UPC’s agenda for the unified Cameroon. The supporters of UPC were labelled as rebels and terrorists and as a threat to the state security, whereas the state propaganda presented Ahidjo as an architect of the national unity and stability, later as the “Father of Nation”. (Nsoudou 2009, pp. 205 and 208–209; Abé 2006, p. 34). Using the threat posed by the UPC, Ahidjo created the public discourse of national unity with a hidden agenda of centralising all political power to himself and his party. Soon after gaining independence, the authoritarian police state was established with the creation of well remunerated and privileged security forces and intelligence services. (Nsoudou 2009, p. 210). Controversially, both Ahidjo and later Biya spoke against the ethnic diversity, or at least ignored the reality of diversity, in order to boost the coherence and national “oneness” in Cameroon. In the administration, they however favoured the fellow ethnic members: Fulbé elite was favoured in the Ahidjo regime and the Beti by Biya. (Yenshu Vubo 2003, p. 597).

Politically, the first step was reached in 1966, when a single-party state was formalised, officially allowing only one party to be active. A single-party state was established in the name of the “great movement for the national unity” (grand mouvement national unifié) – as termed by Ahidjo’s propaganda – in order to bring stability and coherence into the young state. The parliament and the judiciary were subordinated to the state supervision. (Abé 2006, pp. 32–34 and 48). All the other parties ceased to exist or were forced to merge into the Cameroonian National Union (CNU), newly established and chaired by Ahidjo. The second step, which was the culmination of the centralisation process, was reached with
the constitutional referendum in 1972, when the federal system was dissolved and the United Republic of Cameroon was created. The result was “one of the most centralised states in Africa”, as expressed by the International Crisis Group. (International Crisis Group 2010a, pp. 8–10; Cumming 2007, p. 116).

1.2.4. The quasi-liberation of Paul Biya

In November 1982, Ahidjo resigned due to health reasons and was followed by the prime minister and his constitutional successor, Paul Biya. Biya presented himself as the political heir of Ahidjo, but adopted an approach of gradual opening and democratization of the country. He began to support pluralism and a multi-party state, but only in such limits, where the hegemony of his party or presidency would not be endangered. Thus, one could speak of a quasi-liberalisation of the political system. Multiple candidates for presidential elections were allowed, but Biya constantly blocked out potential rivals. For example, Biya won the presidential elections of 1984 with 99 % of the votes. A coup attempt followed in 1984 from the camp of the revived Ahidjo. This was prevented, but the bloody aftermath may have caused the failure of Biya’s political liberalization, as he ultimately turned to support an ever-tighter regime security. (International Crisis Group 2010a, pp. 10–11).

After the coup attempt, Biya distanced himself in many issues from Ahidjo, whom he sentenced to lifelong imprisonment, but later pardoned. However, Ahidjo never returned from exile. (Nsoudou 2008, pp. 212–213).

As broadly in Africa, also in Cameroon, the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, which marked the ending of the Cold War, launched a series of democracy movements. The rapidly expanding, nationwide claims for democracy, which were at first confronted with the state military, led to formal authorization of the multi-partyism in Cameroon. Dozens of new parties were established and they posed claims for putting in place a sovereign national conference. Biya repeatedly broke the momentum by creating an illusion of the regime’s willingness for dialogue with the opposition, but restraining himself then time after time from making any real concessions as the dust had settled. Biya even took measures for renewing relations with the political heirs of the UPC – however, not to such an extent that

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8 It was Biya’s strategy to distance himself from Ahidjo’s policies in order to provide himself a new base of supporters. The beginning of Biya’s regime was also marked by the return of many opponents from the exile who welcomed Biya’s rhetoric about democratization and combating corruption. (International Crisis Group 2010a, p. 10).
would endanger Biya’s legitimacy as president. In the official state discourse, the role of the UPC in the decolonization process of Cameroon was acknowledged and the party members were no longer referred as rebels but as “liberation fighters” and “freedom martyrs”.9 (Nsoudou 2008, pp. 213 and 217).

Stemming from Ahidjo’s era, but actively promoted by Biya, the president in Cameroon has a broad mandate to assign civil servants. This has led to formation of a clientelist, highly bureaucratic state, where loyalty is rewarded and critical thinking punished. The state is almost synonomous with the president’s party. One feature of the clientelist system is that none of the 60 state ministers incumbent in 2010, were elected by plebiscite but owe their appointment to the president. Hence, they entirely lack political legitimacy. The majority of them are also between 60 and 70 years old, while only 5 % of the population is aged 59 or over. (International Crisis Group 2010b, p. 2). At the time of writing, president Biya himself is 83 years old. The constitution of 1996 gives an idea of the – apparently unlimited – power of the president in Cameroon:

“[–] he shall be the symbol of national unity. He shall define the policy of the nation. He shall ensure respect for the Constitution. He shall, through his arbitration, ensure the proper functioning of public authorities. He shall be the guarantor of the independence of the nation and of its territorial integrity, of the permanency and continuity of the State and of the respect of international treaties and agreements.” (Republic of Cameroon 1996).

In 1996 the presidential term was extended from 5 to 7 years with a constitutional referendum conducted by Biya’s regime. This was manoeuvred ahead of the presidential elections in 1997, which were won by Biya – with 93 % of all votes. (International Crisis Group 2010a, p. 35). In 2008, a further constitutional referendum was carried out, and the president was given eligibility for an unlimited re-election – again ahead of the presidential elections in 2011 (International Crisis Group 2010b, p. 1). Biya once more ran for election and was elected for his sixth term with almost 78 % of the votes. International observers

9 The memorial law established in 16 December 1991 provides an example of Biya’s blatant measures to ensure the public support to his party. The law was aimed at rehabilitating the reputation of the deceased UPC party leaders Ruben Um Nyobé, Félix-Roland Moumié and Ernest Ouandié and the former president Ahidjo. At the time of the law, the power and the legitimacy of the government were challenged and Biya needed the support of those masses who regarded Ahidjo’s era with nostalgic benevolence. Also the UPC members were still remembered as true freedom fighters by many, despite the repression of the memory of UPC that Ahidjo had practiced for decades. However, despite the memorial law, Biy’a regime did nothing to officially honour the historical figures. (Nsoudou 2008, p. 218).
have repeatedly reported about the flaws and alleged fraud in the presidential elections in Cameroon. (International Crisis Groups 2010a, p. 35).

To conclude, the history of Cameroon appears as a presidential project of building a unified nation, which is typical for many African countries. In the African context, the definition “nation building” can be seen as the need of states to create a homogenous nation, after becoming independent. These processes were from the beginning led by the state with aims of marginalizing or destroying all views for alternative ideologies and administrative structures. The opposition movements resisted the aims of centralizing the power into the hands of the few, which again led to state regimes becoming even more authoritarian and interventionist. (Hofmeier and Mehler 2004, pp. 210–212).

The brief history of Cameroon presented above is essential for understanding the linkages between the historical development and the current societal problems in the country. In my thesis, this historical background offers the starting point for the content analysis in chapter 6. It is essential to understand the reflections of the colonial past on historical consciousness in Cameroon on the one hand, and the state-driven discourse of “national unity” and its effects on nation building on the other. The former is examined in chapter 6.1. with conceptualizing “the self”, and the latter in chapter 6.2. with the focus on conceptualizing “the nation” in the textbooks.

1.3. Education in Cameroon

This chapter provides an overall picture of the primary and secondary education in Cameroon. The major objectives of education are briefly examined, education structure and administrative mechanisms discussed and the legal basis and major policy lines presented. The main figures indicating educational development, including public expenditure on education are referred to. My focus is on primary and secondary education, since the history textbooks analysed in this study cover three final classes of the primary education (classes 4–6), and the lower secondary level (forms 1–5).
1.3.1. Education as a “great national priority”

Primary education has the duration of 6 years and children go to school at the age of 6. Primary education forms the compulsory, minimum level of education in Cameroon, and it is constitutionally defined to be free of costs. Early childhood care and education, primary education and secondary education in both Francophone and Anglophone education systems are steered by the law no 98/004 of 14 April 1998 (*loi d’orientation de l’éducation*), according to which education is a “great national priority”. (Republic of Cameroon 1998; UNESCO-IBE 2010, p. 2). As was discussed in the previous chapter, constructing the national unity can be seen as a presidential project in Cameroon. This reflects also in the above mentioned law (1998) on education, which states that in all levels, education is to promote bilingualism and to increase national coherence. The “mission of education” is defined as follows: “to promote the child’s intellectual, physical, civic and moral growth towards increasing harmony in the society”. The law also states that education is “politically and religiously neutral”. (Ibid). Combined with the emphasis on political neutrality on the one hand, and on “increasing harmony in the society” on the other, the law may be used in preventing critical discussions with pupils in schools. Critical approaches towards the prevailing power structures in Cameroon, or towards the actions of the regime, could easily be interpreted as politically loaded and therefore unfavourable.

The Ministries of Basic Education (*Ministère de l’éducation de base*, MINEDUB) and Secondary Education (*Ministère des enseignements secondaires*, MINESEC) are in charge of educational policy planning, monitoring and evaluation in areas such as curriculum development, teacher education, national examinations and learning materials. In 2006, the first comprehensive Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP) was launched in cooperation with MINEDUB, MINESEC, Ministries for higher education (*Ministère de l’Enseignement Supérieur*, MINESUP) and the employment (*Ministère de l’Emploi et de la Formation Professionnelle*, MINEFOP) with the support of UNESCO. (UNESCO-IBE 2010, pp. 3–4).

The ESSP reaffirms that education is a “national priority” of the government. The plan defines the following core objectives for the entire education system from the primary to tertiary level in Cameroon:
“Educating citizens to honour their cultural roots while remaining open towards the world; Promoting sciences and the culture for social development; Educating ethics and national consciousness; Promoting democracy and the spirit of democracy; Developing and promoting creativity towards entrepreneurship; Promoting bilingualism and national languages; Promoting physical, artistic and cultural well-being of children; Promoting hygiene and education for healthy living; Educating towards domesticity.” (Republic of Cameroon 2006, p. 32).

Here, promoting “the culture for social development” and “the spirit of democracy” can be seen to entail the idea of providing pupils and students with the analytical competences needed for constructive and critical reflection. However, as will be discussed in the second section of my study, the history textbooks do not promote such skills of critical reflection. The objective of educating “national consciousness” on the other hand is promoted also in the textbooks, with an emphasis on national unity.

The ESSP further sets the revision of curricula\(^\text{10}\) as an object, as part of a larger objective of improving the quality of education. According to the plan, the primary school curriculum reform was already in process (2006)\(^\text{11}\), whereas the reform was yet to be launched in the secondary general education. The following objectives of learning are given to be taken into account in the curricula reform of the secondary education: by the end of the final year of the lower secondary school, the pupils should be able to

“think logically, recognize, understand and value the cultural diversity in Cameroon, communicate in French and English orally and in writing [→], take actions of a responsible citizen – being aware of his fundamental rights and obligations, [→], show the spirit of criticism and tolerance”. (Republic of Cameroon 2006, p. 115).

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\(^{10}\) It must be noted, that despite numerous inquiries to the Ministries of Basic and Secondary Education, I did not have access to curricula for this thesis. Also the research literature remains blurred in terms of national curricula and the reform. Hence, I have no confirmed information on the content and year of publishing of the currently used curricula. Both ministeries (of Basic and Secondary Education) have a special unit, “Inspectorate General of Education” which is responsible for defining the broad objectives of education, including curriculum and teacher education development. “Inspectorates of pedagogics” which operate also provincially, have the tasks to define, elaborate, monitor and evaluate curricula, pedagogical methodologies and learning materials used in different disciplines. (UNESCO-IBE 2011, pp. 3–4 and 12–13).

\(^{11}\) According to Cameroon’s report to UNESCO’s 47th International Conference on Education in 2008, the primary school curriculum reform would have been accomplished (Commission National de la République du Cameroun pour l’UNESCO 2008, p. 19).
Thus, competences of critical and analytical reflection are promoted. After completing upper secondary school, competencies of a responsible citizen are further emphasized as the students should, for example, be able to “act responsibly in the society” and “participate actively in the problem solving of the community”. (Ibid).

1.3.2. Education structure

There is a dual education system in Cameroon as a result of colonial period. After the reunification in 1961, the federal constitution ensured that the British educational structure was maintained in the Anglophone Cameroon with English as the primary language of instruction. The Francophone Cameroon was to follow the French model in education with French as the language of instruction. This twofold system was maintained after the unified constitution of 1972, which officially put an end to the federal system.

The following, simplified education charts illustrate the education structure from primary to upper secondary levels in the Anglophone and Francophone Cameroon. As regards the secondary education, the focus is on the general education. The technical and vocational education and training (TVET) is left out from the chart. Also nursery and preschool levels, as well as the tertiary education, are ruled out from these charts. Complete charts of educational structure can be found in the Education Sector Strategic Plan (Republic of Cameroon 2006, pp. 30–31).
Figure 1. Education systems in the Anglophone and Francophone Cameroon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anglophone sub-system</th>
<th>Francophone sub-system</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>General Certificate of Education, Advanced level (GCE A/L)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Baccalaureat probatoire (BAC)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary (2nd cycle)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Secondaire (2nd cycle)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High schools</td>
<td>Lycee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower 6–Upper 6</td>
<td>Seconde – Terminale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration: 2 years</td>
<td>Duration: 3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age: 17–18 years</td>
<td>Age: 16–18 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General Certificate of Education, Ordinary level (GCE O/L)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Le brevet d'études du premier cycle (BEPC)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary (1st cycle)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Secondaire (1st cycle)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary schools</td>
<td>CES</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forms 1–5</td>
<td>6ème – 3ème</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duration: 5 years</td>
<td>Duration: 4 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age: 12–16 years</td>
<td>Age: 12–15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First School-leaving Certificate (FSLC)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Le certificat d'études primaires (CEP)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary</strong></td>
<td><strong>Primaire</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classes 1–6</td>
<td>Cycles: Section d'initiation au langage (SIL), cours préparatoire (CP), cours élémentaire 1 et 2 (CM1 and CM2), cours moyen 1 et 2 (CM1 and CM2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration: 6 years</td>
<td>Duration: 6 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age: 6–11 years</td>
<td>Age: 6–11 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In structural terms, the education system is fairly similar in both sub-systems. Compulsory primary education has the duration of 6 years and starts at the age of 6. The duration of the secondary education is in both systems 7 years and divided into two cycles. The first cycle of the secondary education is 5 years in the Anglophone system, and 4 years in the Francophone. Respectively, the second cycle of secondary education is 2 years in the Anglophone, and 3 years in the Francophone system. (UNESCO-IBE 2010, pp. 7–9).
1.3.3. Educational attainment and public expenditure

The net enrolment ratio of primary education in Cameroon was 92 % in 2010 compared with only 42 % of the secondary education. The drop-out rate in primary education in 2009 was 34 %. Thereby the survival rate to the last grade of primary education was still considerably low, 66 %. (UNESCO-EFA GMR 2012, pp. 353, 360–361 and 368). Transition rate from primary to lower (general) secondary education was in the early 2000’s still extremely low – 13 % for girls and 16 % for boys (UNESCO-IBE 2010, p. 16). Although remarkable development has taken place by 2010, the number remains low, at 51 % (including boys and girls). The percentage of repeaters in 2010 was 16 % in the lower secondary level, and 25 % in the upper secondary level. (UNESCO-UIS 2012, pp. 106 and 115). Hence, Cameroon has still much to achieve in terms of increasing educational attainment and completion and especially in improving the transition rates to secondary education. There is also a vast number of illiterate youth (15–24 years) in Cameroon, which reflects the fairly low rate of attainment in secondary schooling and the poor quality of learning. In 2010, youth literacy was 83 %. (UNESCO-EFA GMR 2012, pp. 324–325).

Educational development both in terms of access and educational performance is uneven between and within regions. The first and foremost objective of the Education Sector Strategic Plan is to “expand access to education while decreasing disparities”. A group of regions in the north of Cameroon (Adamawa, Far North, North, South-East and North-East. See the map in the appendix 1) have been identified as “priority zones” due to their low performance in education measured by various indicators. A special emphasis in the ESSP is given to “poor or vulnerable” children, as well as children with marginalized background. (Republic of Cameroon 2006, p. 95). According to the World Bank, the gross- and net enrollment rates for girls in the Far North are lower than in all the other regions in Cameroon. Also the completion rates, pupil-teacher ratios, and teacher shortages are serious issues in the Far North. (World Bank 2012, p. 12).

Education has been traditionally highly valued in Cameroon. Educational administration is the major consumer of state resources in Cameroon with the highest number of civil servants – almost twice the number employed by the health sector. (Fonkeng 2007, pp. 3-5). Although education is considered a “great national priority”, educational development has followed the country’s economic peaks and troughs (World Bank 2012, pp. 11-13).
According to the ESSP, public allocation to the education sector was “relatively low” in 2003, 15% of the total public expenditure. The strategy further notes that this share is “not adequate”, since even countries which “are not on the same development level with Cameroon” are allocating 20% of their national budgets to education. (Government of Cameroon 2006, p. 71). According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), the public expenditure on education (from primary to tertiary level) in 2010 was 17.9% of the government expenditure in Cameroon. This equals to 3.5% of GDP. Although there is a cut compared to previous year (19.2% in 2009), Cameroon ranks fairly well in relation to neighboring countries\(^\text{12}\). Although financial allocations do not equal with the educational efficiency, they indicate the governmental will to invest in and develop the country's education sector.

As in many Sub-Saharan African countries, also in Cameroon, the parents’ contribution to funding schooling is significant. The ESSP states that 30% of all primary school teachers in Cameroon in 2002 were virtually employed by parents with their salaries directly covered by the parents (Government of Cameroon 2006, p. 71). At the secondary level, the parents’ contribution is increasingly important. They pay tuition and other fees to private and public schools, hire private tutors, purchase books and uniforms and pay for formal or informal boarding. After food, education is the largest household expenditure in Cameroon. (Verspoor 2008, p. 166). According to the ESSP, 44% of the household expenditure was allocated to primary education in 2001 (Government of Cameroon 2006, p. 71).

\(^{12}\) Public expenditure on education in 2010 was 10.1% in Chad and 14% in the Central African Republic. Figures of other neighboring countries are not available. (UNESCO–UIS 2012, pp. 162 and 194; UNESCO–UIS 2011, p. 234).
2. **Research Questions and Methodology**

My study examines the building of a nation and state “Cameroon” with a more specific interest in finding out patterns of how the history textbooks represent and confirm national identity, and what kind of national identity is being promoted. This will be approached by examining the national history – that is the history of Cameroon – represented in the textbooks. Through reading the textbooks, the discourses of the “self” and the “nation” were chosen as the main topics to be discussed in the content analysis part, in chapter 6. Three discourses were chosen for further analysis of the “self”: 1) What do the textbooks say about the origins of the “self” (of Cameroon and the Cameroonian), 2) What is the relation of the “self” to Europeans in the colonial period, and 3) What is the relation of the “self” to the so called Western civilisation. The “nation” again is approached against the decolonisation process and the state-driven discourse of “national unity”. The following themes were selected for further analysis: 1) national unity gained through independence, 2) connections of national unity to leading figures and centralised governance and – since the presidents play such an essential role in the course of societal development in Cameroon, also 3) how the presidents of Cameroon are presented in the textbooks in terms of nation building.

Since an essential part of the self-image is constructed in our relation to others\(^\text{13}\), I will also touch upon, what is the relation of the history of Cameroon and Cameroonians to Africa, Europe and the rest of the world. There would be much room to examine the international relations of Cameroon in the history textbooks, or to examine questions such as how the global governance or a certain country or region is perceived in the textbooks. In my analysis however, the question has been approached mainly quantitatively through examining the division of contents into world history, regional history (history of Africa and Europe) and the national history (history of Cameroon). Ultimately, I will approach the question about historical consciousness which produces or reproduces national identity

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\(^{13}\) How do we perceive others, tells us something about the way we see ourselves. In his analysis about the relation between history and identity, Chris Lorenz concludes that the identity of individuals refers to the concept of sameness, which again gets its form in relation to the difference or otherness. Similarly to the notion that there is no sameness without the difference, there’s no identity of the “self” without the “non-self” or the “other”. Hence, the concepts of the “self” and the “other” are conceptionally interrelated. This applies similarly to the collective identities, where the “in-group” or “we” can be identified in relation to an “out-group” or “they”. (Lorenz 2004, p. 29).
through its appearance in the textbooks. Special attention is put on Eurocentric\textsuperscript{14} understanding of the past.

Historical consciousness (\textit{Geschichtsvorstellung, Geschichtsbewusstsein}) can be understood as a socio-psychological phenomenon, that contributes to identity building - both on the collective as well as individual level. (Rüsen 2007, p. 231; Rüsen 1994, p. 159; Schörken 1984, p. 59). According to Peter Seixas, historical consciousness covers historiography\textsuperscript{15}, collective memory and history education. Collective memory again, is to be understood as a “broad popular understanding of the past” that is produced in the intercourse of and the dialogue between professional and popular practices of history.\textsuperscript{16} (Seixas 2004, pp. 4–11). According to Carine Nsoudou, collective memory refers to a performative “reconstruction and an appropriation of the past used to meet or influence present needs.” Thus, “collective memory emerges at specific times and places often through institutionalized memorial activities such as special observances meant to mark an important social or historical event.” (Nsoudou 2009 p. 204).

Since both concepts – historical consciousness and collective memory – are closely interlinked and partly defined parallel with each other (both entail the idea of history as a discipline and an experienced practice, thus offering room for the idea of history as institutionalized memory production), I see no point in making a distinction between the concepts in my research. However, due to criticism of the concept of collective memory\textsuperscript{17}, I prefer to speak of historical consciousness and content myself with Schörken’s specification, according to which historical consciousness consists of history images (\textit{Geschichtsbilder}) and communal traditions. History images refer to a “relatively closed view of the holistic course of history that is based on certain basic values, beliefs or truths”. Because history images are always reconstructions from the past, the collective history consciousness is also something that can be shaped – intentionally or not.

\textsuperscript{14} Eurocentrism is here understood as an ideological model assuming that the historical development of Europe serves as the only correct standard, against which the historical development of other societies can be examined and measured (Bentley 2002, p. 394).

\textsuperscript{15} Historiography can be seen as the methodology of history and history writing as a discipline (both in practical terms “history as a practice” and in theoretical terms “history as a philosophy”), including the historical development of history writing (Joe Alagoa 2006, p. 2).

\textsuperscript{16} Professional practices aim at advancing historical knowledge through academia and research, and popular practices at mobilizing the past for a variety of purposes such as identity building projects, policy justifications and public education (Seixas 2004, p. 4).

\textsuperscript{17} The criticism concerns the concept’s presupposition of a collective subject that has the capability to reach back to something called collective past experience (Lorenz 2004, p. 27; Bjornson 1991, p. 7).
Representations of history are indeed applicable to root certain values, beliefs or even ideologies into peoples’ minds and to the society at large. (Schörken 1984, pp. 59–60).

Due to the broad definition of the concept, it needs to be specified that historical consciousness in my study will be studied only through the narrow angle of the history textbooks. Relying on the content analysis of textbooks, one cannot draw assumptions about how the history is being perceived among a broader population – after all, textbook analysis does not even unveil how the teachers or students truly perceive history, since it tells us nothing about the use of textbooks, pedagogical practices in the classroom or the skills, attitudes and values acquired by the pupils and students. I will therefore specify my final research question to apply only to textbooks – What kind of history images of the “self” and the “nation” are being represented and what kind of history consciousness is being promoted in the contemporary history textbooks in the Anglophone Cameroon?

2.1. Textbook research - traditions

As a discipline, textbook research which aims at revising the content of textbooks dates back to the foundation of the League of Nations. The focus was in decreasing xenophobia, stereotypes and representations of other nations as enemies. In 1937, twenty-six member states of the League of Nations signed a Declaration Regarding the Teaching of History (Revision of School Text-Books), which was the first international instrument – although not binding – for steering the textbook contents towards dialogue and mutual understanding between nations. (Pingel 2009, pp. 9–10). The fact, that the declaration concerned particularly the discipline of history, shows the significance of historical consciousness and hence, also history teaching in the nation building and formation of the national identity.

After the Second World War, the need to revise textbooks – especially those of history and geography – was further acknowledged, but up to the 1950’s and 1960’s the focus remained on national interpretations of history. According to Pingel “We see the world through our nations” would have been a suitable title for a summary of the textbook studies from the period in question. As a result of UNESCO’s and other multilateral organisation’s work, the new perspective on textbook studies was acquired in the 1970’s with aims to study textbooks by giving equal weight to analysis of knowledge, attitudes and skills.
promoted, and analyzing the books in the context of the classroom realities. (Pingel 2009, pp. 12 and 14). Ultimately, the textbooks were analyzed also in a broader socio-cultural context, with a focus on the utilization of textbooks in constructing, attaining or changing certain realities in the society (Wiater 2003a, p. 8). Since policies, power-relations and conceptions of nationhood are in the focus of such realities, textbooks also became more commonly used in the history research (Hietala 1982, p. 3). According to Werner Wiater, modern textbook research sees the textbooks in terms of political education primarily as a product of societal processes and only secondary as a tool for learning (Wiater 2003b, p. 12).

This approach of Wiater fully applies also to my study on Cameroonian history textbooks. In a society with a high level of corruption, a highly centralized regime and a poor level of freedom of the speech, education appears as a mechanism with aims to sustain the existing power relations in the society. Thus, the youth is not provided with skills of critical reflection needed to drive for a democratic change.

2.2. Content analysis – quantitative and qualitative

There is no unambiguous theory on textbook analysis, which is partly explained by the fact that textbooks can be approached in various academic disciplines, through interdisciplinary

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18 The General Conference of UNESCO adopted in 1974 the Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms. In 1992, an International Textbook Research Network was established at the Georg-Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, as a focal institution under the auspices of UNESCO. In 1995, the UNESCO Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy was adopted by the General Conference. Since then, UNESCO has launched several publications and guidebooks concerning the textbook revision towards international and intercultural understanding. See for example: A Comprehensive Strategy for Textbooks and Learning Materials. (UNESCO 2005); UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision; A guidebook “On a Common Path”. (Pingel 2009, pp. 63–64). Education for All – process coordinated by UNESCO has also acknowledged the central role of education – including the approach to learning materials – in peace building and reconciliation processes, as documented in the 2011 EFA Global Monitoring Report. The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education (UNESCO, 2011). In the European context, the Council of Europe has been in lead of promoting international cooperation and guidance for textbook authors, publishers and teachers in terms of reducing simplified, biased and stereotyped representations of history in schooling. See for example: Against Bias and Prejudice: the Council of Europe’s work on history teaching and history textbooks. Recommendations on history teaching and history textbooks adopted at Council of Europe conferences and symposia 1953–83. (Council of Europe, 1986). The first international textbook research institute, Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research was founded in 1951 in Braunschweig, Germany, as a forum for scholars and educationalists to discuss about history representations and interpretations in the textbooks. International Association for Research on Textbooks and Educational Media (IARTEM) was established in the 1990’s as a professional ad academic community to share knowledge through bi-annual conferences and e-Journal Research on Textbooks and Educational Media.
means, with each approach acquiring different methods (Weinbrenner 1995, p. 21; Weiβ 1991, pp. 10, 191 and 368; Rüsen 1994, p. 157). Textbooks can be studied through a process-orientated, product-orientated or impact-orientated approach (Weinbrenner 1995, pp. 22–23; Furrer 2004, p. 88). Emphasis on the textbook writers or publishing houses – their backgrounds and motives – would require a process-oriented approach to textbooks, whereas focusing on the knowledge or attitudes acquired by the students through textbooks would demand an impact-oriented approach. With the emphasis on the contents of the textbooks, the approach of my study is product-oriented, according to Peter Weinbrenner’s categorization. Weinbrenner states, that the most suitable methodology in this approach is content analysis (Inhaltsanalyse). (Weinbrenner 1995, p. 22). Pingel summarizes by saying that any educational text can be analysed roughly from two points of view. A didactic analysis deals with the methodological approach to the topic and explores the pedagogy behind the text, whereas the text itself can be examined through a content analysis with questions such as “What does the text tell us, is it in accordance with academic research, does it sufficiently cover the topic in question?” (Pingel 2009, p. 31).

Content analysis of the textbooks does not reach the classroom realities experienced by teachers, or pupils and students. With the focus on texts, one cannot conclude anything about the attitudes exposed in the discussions, the teacher’s role in the learning process and so on. In fact, textbook analysis does not even reveal, in what ways - if at all - the textbooks are being used by teachers, pupils and students. Taking into account the generally perceived importance of the history textbook in learning history, there is an astonishing lack of empirical studies on the practical use of textbooks. Hence, we only have a vague knowledge about the role of textbooks in the classroom. (Pingel 2009, p. 46; Rüsen 1994, p. 156). Content analysis of the history textbooks provides a useful method for studying commonly (or officially) accepted truths about history and hence, provides one channel to study historical consciousness in the society.

In the following, I will elaborate on content analysis in more detail, since I consider that it suits best my own research. According to Werner Früh, content analysis can be defined as an “empirical method for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of documents” (Früh 2004, p. 25). Here the document refers to any written material. Content analysis is ultimately a text analysis which can be applied also to oral messages. Therefore, the content analysis can be applied virtually to all qualitative
research and to several research disciplines such as sociology, linguistics and psychology. (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009, pp. 91 and 103; Früh 2004, p. 47; Mayring 2000, p. 2).

In the definition of content analysis, “systematic identification” refers to taking texts into account as complete entities. With large quantities of text, it is not possible and – depending on the research questions, also not reasonable – to stick to the literal interpretation of the “systematically identifying specified characteristics of documents”. According to Satu Elo and Helvi Kyngäs, who discuss the differences between inductive and deductive content analysis, both approaches require a similar preparation phase, during which the data to be analysed is first limited, then categorised on the basis of selected criteria or classification. An inductive approach is used when there is not enough former knowledge or theory-based assumptions about a phenomenon. It aims at finding out what kind of areas of content, leading interpretative concepts and methods of presentation are to be found in the data. The studies preferring an inductive approach often refer to grounded theory as the leading theoretical paradigm. In the deductive approach again, the categories of analysis are derived from a particular chosen topic (which often has linkages to academic, disciplinary understanding of the topic) that should be presented in the book. (Elo and Kyngäs 2007, p. 109; Pingel 2009, pp. 69–70).

With space-analysis, topics, themes or categories can be included in the analysis based on a chosen criteria such as the number of pages, chapters or even single words that are relevant for the research questions (Weiß 1991, p. 193). This rules out all the content which is not relevant for the research questions, thus narrows down the amount of data to be analysed. The use of space-analysis shows that qualitative and quantitative methods should be used to complement each other. Werner Früh concludes that a distinction of methods between clearly qualitative or quantitative is even unnecessary, since “nearly every content analysis” requires both. (Früh 2004, pp. 73–74. See also Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009, pp. 91 and 105; Pingel 2009, p. 68, Furrer 2004, p. 89; Elo and Kyngäs 2007, p. 109).

19 According to Pingel, space analysis (similarly to the frequency analysis) is a quantitative method which aims to determine, for example how many times a certain word has been used in the text, and how much space is allotted in a text to a certain category such as phenomenon, historical epoch, geographical area, or a person (Pingel 2009, p. 67).
Space analysis does not reveal any connotations, attitudes or interpretations represented in the text. This is where qualitative content analysis is needed. Relying on space-analysis, I have chosen to analyse qualitatively the national history (that is, the history of Cameroon) in the textbooks. The history of Cameroon covers approximately 32% of the entire contents of the textbooks. Other “histories”, that is the history of Africa (also 32%), Europe (15%) and the world (21%), have been approached through the lenses of the national history and hence they have been included only to the extent, that seems relevant for examining the national historical consciousness (see table 2 in chapter 5.1.).

In the light of the above, I see my study both quantitative and – mainly – qualitative. The quantitative approach supports the qualitative and it has been used, for example, to examine the division of texts and illustration between global, regional and national history (world history, history of Africa, Europe and Cameroon). The qualitative approach again has been used in interpretations of the texts – with aims of answering questions such as what has been told, how has it been told, what has not been told, and why the things have been presented as they have. With regard to the relation of inductive and deductive analysis, I see my study as mainly deductive, since academic research has been utilised in dividing the data into certain categories. However, during the analysis, efforts were made to leave as much room as possible for reading the texts freely, thus letting sub-categories arise from the text by themselves. Therefore, I define my study to be a deductive content analysis with inductive connotations.

2.3. Researching pictures – Imagology

Imagology\(^{20}\) is a method that suits to studies dealing with conceptions and mental pictures (later I will refer to “images”) that form our understanding about a phenomena. Imagology stems from the traditions of the cognitive psychology, according to which the individual’s prior experience forms an internal pool of knowledge and skills - a so called knowledge schema or an internal (mental) model - that determines what we hold true in the social world. In other words, knowledge schema contributes essentially to the construction of the world view, since “A person can only perceive what he is able to search for on the basis of prior knowledge schemas”. (Fält 2008, pp. 38-41). Due to this reliance of a person on

\(^{20}\) Imagology or the study of images has its origins in the 1920’s USA and Japan, but since the mid 1990’s it has become more commonly used particularly in the Nordic countries. It can be used in many disciplines, such as social psychology, international relations and history. (Fält 2002, p. 7).
previous experience in the formation process of an image, the image can always be regarded as a mental picture (Wunsch 2004, p. 17). Imagology is close to identity studies and suits therefore well also for studies focusing on the historical consciousness.

Image studies focus on factors that contribute to image creation, and on the owner or perceiver of the image. We may approach societies with questions such as “how individuals, groups of individuals or entire nations see each other, a certain phenomenon or themselves in a certain media” and further evaluate, what are the motives in the formation of these images. In the previous chapter it was argued, that a qualitative approach to content analysis can be used to answer questions such as “what has been told [in the textbooks], how has it been told, what has not been told, and why the things have been presented as they have”. Imagology focuses in particular on the last question – why a phenomena has been presented in a certain media in a way it has. Imagology is ultimately interested in the societal context and aims to draw conclusions about the creator of an image, the perceiver.

I previously defined my research question as follows: What kind of history images of the “self” and the “nation” are being represented and what kind of historical consciousness is being promoted in the contemporary history textbooks in the Anglophone Cameroon, in order to approach the question of how the national identity construction and hence, nation building appear in the textbooks. In practical terms, I further stated that my aim is to examine, how the “self” and the “nation” are been perceived in the textbooks, what is the image constructed of them. Based on reading the textbook contents that discuss the history of Cameroon, sub-themes were chosen under both of these narratives. In the case of examining the “self”, they were 1) the origins of Cameroon and the Cameroonians, 2) the “exterior self” and 3) the relation of the self with the Western civilisation. In the case of the “nation”, they were tightly linked to the state-driven discourse of the “national unity”: 1) national unity gained through independence, 2) connections of national unity to leader figures and centralised governance and 3) Cameroonian presidents as creators of national unity. Based on these issues and questions, the imagology is used in my study to draw conclusions about the contemporary historical consciousness in Cameroon.
2.4. Previous research

As will be discussed in the next chapter, historical consciousness is an important element in the nation building. The formal education system again has a distinct role in forming and transmitting historical consciousness. Taking this into account, the striking lack of research in terms of textbook content analyses in the African context seems surprising. The existing studies mainly focus on issues such as the management of textbook production and distribution in African countries. This is mostly the approach of international organisations such as the World Bank and the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA).

The few studies available with the focus on the textbook content cover research at least on Eritrea, Congo, Morocco, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Kenya, Sudan and Rwanda.\(^{21}\) South Africa on the other hand belongs to the most studied Sub-Saharan African countries in terms of textbook research, historiography and history education\(^{22}\). Within comparison, there is extensive research available on the history textbooks used in European countries,

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also in terms of images provided of Africa.\textsuperscript{23} There are also some studies available on textbooks from a broader Pan-African perspective.\textsuperscript{24} In my study, the review of Pierre Kipré, former president of Côte d’Ivoire, \textit{Critical review of history textbooks used in French-speaking African countries} offers a valuable introduction for the usage of history textbooks in the Francophone African countries. The review is, however written on a very general level, and does not provide any information to be applied to the textbooks used in Anglophone Cameroon.

Hardly any research can be found on the textbooks used in Cameroon. In quantitative terms, I have relied on two studies of the World Bank: \textit{Textbooks and School Library Provision in Secondary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa} (World Bank 2008) and \textit{At the Crossroads: Choices for secondary education in Sub-Saharan Africa} (Verspoor 2008), both of which provide an overview on the availability of secondary level textbooks and the management of their production in numerous countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, including Cameroon. These were used together with the major national policy lines on education – the governmental \textit{Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP)} (Republic of Cameroon, 2006) – to sketch the outlines of the availability of textbooks and to elaborate the role of multinational publishing houses in Cameroon.

Alexis Ngatcha’s study \textit{Der Deutschunterricht in Kamerun als Erbe des Kolonialismus und seine Funktion in der postkolonialen Ära} (2002) focuses on educational practices in German learning in the upper secondary education in Cameroon. Learning materials are approached through student questionnaires with the focus on pedagogical usability. Historical consciousness in Cameroon is to some extent more widely researched. For example, Emmanuel Yenshu Vubo discusses the construction of historical identity among

\textsuperscript{23} An overview of the variety of studies available can be received in the catalogue of the Georg-Eckert Institute of International Textbook Research. On the colonial past in the European textbooks, see for example Grindel, S. “Koloniale Vergangenheiten in europäischen Schulbüchern” in \textit{International Schulbuchforschung} (Vol. 30, Nr 3, 2008), and on images of Afrika in contemporary textbooks in Germany, see Poenicke, A. \textit{Afrika im neuen Geschichtsbuch: eine Analyse der aktuellen deutschen Schulbücher} (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2008). On representations of Africans in German Geography textbooks from the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century until 1970’s, see “Die Vermittlung von Stereotypen und Feindbildern in Schulbüchern – allgemeine Überlegungen und ausgewählte Beispiele anhand der Darstellung der Schwarzafrikaner in deutschen Geographieschulbüchern vom Wilhelminischen Kaiserreich bis in die 70er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts” by Matthes, E. in Matthes, E. and Heinze, C. (eds.) \textit{Interkultureelles Verstehen und kulturelle Integration durch das Schulbuch? Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Fremden} (Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, Bad Heilbrunn, 2004).

\textsuperscript{24} On gender in mathematic textbooks, see Bruegilles, C. and Cromer, S. “Les manuels scolaires de mathématiques ne sont pas neutres. Le système de genre d’une collection panafricaine de l'enseignement primaire” in \textit{Autrepart} (Vol. 3, No 39, 2006, pp. 147–164).
different ethnic groups in Cameroon in his article “Levels of Historical Awareness” in Cahiers d'études africaines (Vol.3, No. 171, 2003). However, he has not used textbooks as a source, and – as will be discussed in the chapter 6, the ethnic diversity does not appear to play a role in the historical consciousness, as the textbooks focus on promoting national unity. Thus, the article has only been used to a limited extent in my study.

When discussing the particularities and challenges of the African historiography in more general terms, I have especially relied on The Practice of History in Africa. A History of African Historiography by Ebiegberi Joe Alagoa (2006) and the Silences in African History: Between the Syndromes of Discovery and Abolition by Jacques Depelchin (2005). Joe Alagoa mostly focuses on the development of methodology of history research, including the oral traditions, whereas Depelchin’s study can be summarised in questions about the possible autonomy of African history, possibilities to liberate African history from the epistemological traps of Eurocentrism.

In terms of the history of Cameroon, I have relied especially on two reports of the International Crisis Group25: Cameroon: Fragile State? (May 2010) and Cameroon: The Dangers of a Fracturing Regime (June 2010). Reports analyse the central societal challenges of the contemporary Cameroon and the historical backgrounds leading to them. The Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon by Mark Dike DeLancey et al. (2010 and 1990) was valuable for examination of the historical terminology and historical figures. For the period of German protectorate, I have relied especially on Das Deutsche Kaiserreich in Kamerun. Wie Deutschland in Kamerun seine Kolonialmacht aufbauen konnte 1840–1910 by Kum’a Nnumbe III (2008), which is one of the first studies on the colonial history of Germany written by an African historian. Also the studies of Wilson Ebi Ebai (2005), Albert Gouaffo (2007) and Uwe Schulte-Varendorff (2011) helped to cover the German period in the history of Cameroon, including the First World War – a period that in fact is devoted fairly big attention in the analysed school textbooks. The necessary backgrounds for the period of the British and French rule in Cameroon were provided especially by the studies of Gordon D. Cummings (2007), Peter Geschiere (1993) and Piet Konings (2008).

25 The International Crisis Group is a non-governmental organisation headquartered in Brussels, focusing on field-based research on conflict prevention. The board of the group includes prominent figures such as former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, and former presidents, prime ministers and foreign ministers from all continents. (International Crisis Group 2010a, pp. 36–40).
3. **HISTORY EDUCATION IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT**

3.1. **History education as a contributor to the national identity**

History offers a fruitful starting point for studies concerning nation building, national identity and even nationalism. As Peter Seixas states, “A common past, preserved through institutions, traditions and symbols, is a crucial instrument – perhaps the crucial instrument – in the construction of collective identities in the present.” (Seixas 2004, p. 5; see also Lorenz 2004, p. 38.) Further, according to Susana Carvalho and François Gemenne,

Nationalism, whether studied as an ideology, a vision or a political or cultural movement, lays claims to the past as part of its effort to manage the present and to justify its goals to the future. The nation is not only the central idea for nationalists but also the bearer of a history, real or imagined, which shapes national identity and values. History is then a backbone of nationalism, considering that a nationalist movement or a nationalist ideology in order to legitimize its present claim to state power, a particular territory or a national identity, usually frames itself around a common past that unites the people under the same national ceiling and within the same historical vision of continuity. [--] History can be seen as a pool of raw materials from which redefinitions of a nation’s character and destiny may be tapped on. (Carvalho and Gemenne 2009, pp. 1 and 3).

History is crucial in struggles for independence and self-government. According to Ebiegberi Joe Alagoa history as a discipline plays a decisive role in African nation building: “For young and emergent nations there is no study as important as that of history”. (Joe Alagoa 2006, p. 192).

As the role of history in the nation building processes is widely acknowledged, it is of great importance to study what kind of interpretations of history are promoted through schooling. After all, formal education, or at least some minimum level of it, is considered to reach out to the whole population of a modern country. According to John Breuilly, “one of the most powerful weapons available to governments is the schooling system”
Indeed, education can be used to indoctrinate citizens into certain beliefs or ideologies. The consequences of indoctrination and the abuse of history in dictatorial societies such as in Hitler’s Germany, are well recorded. Antoon De Baets however reminds us that also in more recent history, in the Rwandan genocide in 1994 and in the Yugoslavian wars between 1991 and 1995, we have seen how dangerous the abuse of history can be (De Baets 2009, p. 9).

One can suggest that national syllabi for history education and the textbooks used in schools follow nationally recognized, “official” interpretations of the past. As a pedagogical tool, the textbook has a rarely questioned authority in the learning process. For example Jörn Rüsen points out that in history education, the textbook is the most important tool for learning. Therefore, it is also a central tool of political education. (Rüsen 1994, p. 156; see also Weiß 1991, p. 7). Further, especially in countries with numerous educational challenges, such as the lack of teachers and even the lack of energy in schools, the textbooks have an essential role in schooling (Kipré 2005, p. 167). Similarly to the press, which Carine Nsoudou considers as an “agent of diffusion of social memory” in the public space (Nsoudou 2009 p. 204), the history textbook also transmits information and interpretations about the past, and contributes to the memory construction. Thus, the history textbook reflects, but also shapes, the dominant historical consciousness in the society, and therefore forms a relevant data for the studies concerning understandings of the past. As concluded by Falk Pingel, textbooks can play “an important role in shaping the direction of a history or social studies class, influencing what teachers decide to teach” (Pingel 2009, p. 46). Ultimately, history textbook is one of the most significant primary sources for the studies on historical consciousness in a society (Rüsen 1994, p. 156).

3.2. Challenges of African historiography – colonial interpretations

African traditions of historiography have existed for thousands of years, not only in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, but also in the narratives inscribed in the works of art and in the Islamic traditions since the 7th century AD. Western traditions however, began to dominate

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26 There is no broadly accepted, unambiguous definition for indoctrination, but in a simplified manner it can be understood as such a system of education, in which the learner’s beliefs and attitudes are been oppressed and steered towards a certain direction, without giving the learner the possibility to reflect freely and critically. Political or ideological viewpoints related to the theme or discipline being taught are ignored, leaving learners without any tools for questioning the issues taught. (Puolimatka 1996, p. 153).
the historiography in Africa from European expansion in the 15th century, reaching its culmination in the late 19th century imperialism. (Joe Alagoa 2006, pp. 92–93). The Western approach is dominant in the writing of African history even today. As Jacques Depelchin states, “Africans, in the diaspora or in the continent, remain the only group of people whose academic historians are predominantly non-Africans” (Depelchin 2005, p. xii). Also many African scholars whose aims after independence were to rewrite the history of Africa “from the inside”, had studied in European metropolitan universities, thus bearing the legacy of Western tradition entrenched even in the selection of methodologies.

In the Western (or European) tradition, history was until the 1960’s understood as strictly linked with alphabetism, thus societies or historical epochs without literacy were regarded ahistorical or prehistoric. Therefore, before the relations and contacts with Europe, the history of Africa was not regarded as the concern of historians at all, but archeologists, linguists and anthropologists. (Joe Alagoa 2006, p. 178). Africa was the “dark continent” without a recognized past of its own before the arrival of Europeans, who had a God-given mission to civilize the technologically, culturally and religiously inferior black Africans. Since antiquity, the Western representations of Africa have been derived from prejudice and ethnocentrism. Slave trade, race theories, colonialism and finally neo-colonial power-structures driven by capitalism and neo-capitalism have provided the framework for Western examinations on Africa. (Depelchin 2005, p. 212; Joe Alagoa 2006, pp. 178–179). In fact, many former colonial rulers in Europe still have critically to study their own colonial past.28

This European approach to history was further propagated by colonial regimes in the primary and secondary school curricula and in the Western-type universities. The history

27 According to Eva Matthes, it was not until the beginning of the 1970’s, as the stigmatising race theories and derogatory approach to African people started to become criticised in the German Geography textbooks. (Matthes 2004, pp. 243–244).

28 For example, it was only in 2004, as Germany presented an official apology to Namibia due to the Herero and Namaqua Genocide which took place in the German South-West Africa in the early 20th century, during the resistances against the German rule. (Michels 2005, p. 6). According to Heiko Möhle, most of the Germans today know nothing about the German-African history, since the period was first glorified after the First World War, and later silenced after the Second World War. Therefore, the memory of the colonial past in Germany is still largely coloured by images of the mission to civilize the uncivilized – created after the First World War and actively promoted by the Nazi propaganda. The government even supported the traditional associations of the former colonial troops up to the 1990’s in Germany. (Möhle 2005, p. 132). Thomas Deltombe et al. again discusses the French neocolonialism and the silencing of history both in France and Cameroon as regards the role of France in the crushing of the opposition movements in Cameroon in the 1950’s and 1960’s. (Deltombe et al. 2011).
taught was that of the “mother country” and hence, the one shaped by the victorious forces. (Joe Alagoa 2006, pp. 177 and 183; Depelchin 2005, pp. 1 and 212). A good example of this comes from Cameroon, where the formal education policy is traced back to the conference of education in 1907, initiated by the German governor Theodor Setz. Curriculum – for the first time formal and unified – followed solely the German one. History was included in the mandatory subjects, but mainly German history since its unification in 1871 was handled. (Fonkeng 2007, p. 60 and 74).

Only in the 1960’s, when the oral tradition was recognized as a method of history research, African history became legitimate academic discipline and the interest of professional historians (Joe Alagoa 2006, p. 188). According to Depelchin however, the paradigmatic shift from the denial of African history to affirming its existence, was only an illusion – a “redefinition or reformulation of the denial”. With this he reminds that freedom cannot be given, it has to be seized. He compares this quasi-shift of paradigm with the 19th century Western discussion about slavery – slaves were liberated and emancipated by the same actors, who had oppressed them in the first place. The humanity of slaves and brutality of slavery was “discovered”, as if the victims would not have been aware of those things before. (Depelchin 2005, pp. 12 and 209). The new African historiography ultimately had to be acceptable to the West. Taking the existing power relations of the Cold War into account, the post-colonial history writing about Africa was far from emancipated historiography. (Depelchin 2005, p. xii).

Among the new historians focusing on the history of Africa, there were many former colonial administrators who ended up teaching new generations of African historians, thus expanding the Western approach to African history inside Africa (Joe Alagoa 2006, p. 184). African scholars continued to write for the same Western academic audience rather than for their own national populations, as they sought for Western academies’ recognition, which was supposed to guarantee the high standards of their studies (Depelchin 2005, p. 221). When African historians were called to engage themselves in the political nation building processes in the young states, it is obvious that this Western tradition of historiography effectively began to dominate the discipline in Africa (Joe Alagoa 2006, pp. 188–189).
It is worth noting that history as part of a nation building process is inherently a European project. In the aftermath of the Age of Enlightenment, history as an academic discipline was formed in the 19th century Europe, where powerful nation states were taking shape. This influenced profoundly the development of the entire field of social sciences – nation states were taken as natural units and historical agents. In the light of industrialization and imperialism, Europe was seen as the site of genuine historical development. The historians’ focus was narrowed to national histories, and the past in general was viewed exclusively through the lenses of a world divided into nation states. Only over the course of a few recent decades, national state as the default category of historical analysis has been rejected in the discourse of world history. (Bentley 2002, pp. 394–395 and 410–411). It seems like a natural continuum, that viewing history through the lenses of a world constructed by nation states became to dominate also the African historiography. (Depelchin 2006, p. 217). Hence, as we approach questions on national identity, nation building and national history in the African context, the entire phrasing of questions is inherently subdued to Eurocentrism.

On the other hand, when African history was recognized as a discipline in the 1960’s, the non-European perspective to history was also recognized. Demands increased that historians must recognize and reflect upon the culturally determined power structures in the written history. (Munslow 1997, pp. 25–26). Jacques Depelchin starts his study on silences in African history by questioning, how to move away from the “embedded practices of policing knowledge”, how to prevent the “sterilization of history”, and instead transform it to become emancipatory (Depelchin 2005, p. 1). The awareness of the importance of critical self-reflection among scholars has increased during the past two decades. The change is slowly taking place, even though essential questions such as “who are the producers of historical knowledge” and “for whom and for what purposes is the knowledge being reproduced” have still not been raised enough and critically elaborated upon in the African context. (Depelchin 2005, p. 13).

29 By silences, Depelchin refers to neglected questions about the past among those who have suffered “enslavement, colonisation, steady and relentless economic exploitation, cultural asphyxiation, religious persecution, gender, race and class discrimination and political repression”. He brings about the psychological phenomenon in which the victims of torture often consider silence the best way of ensuring sanity. Depelchin makes a difference between the silences produced by the state power (and state terror), and by the social scientists – including historians. The latter kinds of silences can be regarded as paradigmatic, created taboos. (Depelchin 2005, pp. 3–10).

30 Antoon De Baets uses equally seemly expressions, when he refers to the “irresponsible use of history” and the “abuse of history” in his aims to theorize the “responsible history” (De Baets 2009).
The deconstructivist approach to history, as put by Alun Munslow\textsuperscript{31}, offers one starting point to acknowledging and revealing the silences in history and to avoid reproducing them. According to deconstructivism, history is to be examined as a narrative of the past – a written report of historians instead of an objective truth about how things really were. Therefore, history must be seen as a cultural product, even as “a study of the information produced by historians”. There is no ultimate knowable historical truth, but all knowledge of the past should be regarded as social and perspectival. (Munslow 1997, pp. 2, 8–9 and 25–26). The deconstructivist approach at best provides tools for recognizing ethnocentric interpretations in written history, and thereby enables more critical, self-reflective and ultimately more emancipatory history writing. Despite the recent academic development, Western media and thus societies at large, including curricula and history textbooks, largely continue to produce images of Africa filled with simple and stereotyping representations of the “other”. The continent is often represented and discussed in a negative light, highlighting its numerous developmental problems. (Joe Alagoa 2006, p. 183).\textsuperscript{32}

In terms of history teaching in the postcolonial Africa, many new African countries of the 1960’s were challenged with the need to revise and adapt their curricula to a new political situation of independence. In Francophone Africa, the old textbooks following the French syllabus were largely used until the end of 1960’s. In the Conference of Francophone African Ministries of Education in April 1967, the OCAM\textsuperscript{33} member countries recognised history and geography as “strategic” in educating future citizens, hence they should be

\textsuperscript{31} Munslow names three major approaches of history-writing in the Western tradition. Reconstructionism roots back to the 19\textsuperscript{th} century and relies on empiricism, in which the historian’s duty is to reconstruct history, find the objective truth about “what happened” or “how the things were” with the help of primary sources. Constructionism was a reaction to dissatisfaction with reconstructionism’s simple descriptive narrative of singular events. It took start in the 1920’s but gained more ground in the 1960’s. Constructivism looks to the past for models that might be applied today as a means of studying eg. the present development of the developing countries. Deconstructionism again views history as “a complex series of literary products that derive their meanings from the nature of narrative structure as much as from other culturally provided ideological factors. Thus, as a construction of open meanings, all history should be approached relativistic. (Munslow 1997, pp. 18–26).

\textsuperscript{32} According to Depelchin, the role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is another example of silencing practices. Its role in the structural adjustment programmes of African countries is either not discussed at all, or the IMF together with the World Bank are portrayed as the only institutions that have the capability to resolve the problems in Africa. (Depelchin 2005, p. 211).

\textsuperscript{33} OCAM (Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache) was established in 1963 to strengthen the cooperation and solidarity between African countries in the aftermath of the states becoming indepence in the 1960’s. OCAM was the predecessor of the 2002 established African Union. (Hofmeier and Mehler 2004, p. 14).
mandatory subjects in school. (Kipré 2005, pp. 168–169; Kipré 2008, p. 6). In the 1970’s and 1980’s, Pan-Africanist\(^{34}\) efforts were made to form “humanistic” and “universal” history with a strong focus on world history on the one hand, and on African history common to all African countries, on the other. Despite the aims, the majority of history textbooks in the 1980’s still consisted of the Western European history.\(^{35}\) Thus, the efforts failed to represent a universal history with a balanced share between regions and to alter the eurocentrist view of history. As the efforts for launching a common curriculum slowly subdued, a shift from the Pan-African approach to a national one took place in the 1990’s, and continues until today. (Kipré 2005, pp. 168–169). This trend can be recognized also in my study – the history of Cameroon covers the majority (32 %) of the entire contents of the analysed textbooks.

\(^{34}\) Pan-Africanism originally refers to a cultural movement, formed in the early 20\(^{th}\) century in the African diaspora in North-America and Caribbean as a reaction to racist discrimination confronted by the black people since the prohibition of slavery. Pan–Africanism sought for a common “African” identity and aimed at acknowledging and valuing black people in their diaspora and at sparking their love for Africa with a romanticized objective to go “back to Africa”. However, returning to Africa remained for the majority only an idealistic dream. The movement took a shift from the cultural to political ideology in Europe after the Second World War, with aims to increase the equality of the black people in Europe, but also to call for independence movements in African colonies. (Hofmeier and Mehler 2004, pp. 229–230.)

\(^{35}\) For example, in the French publishers’ CARAP’s and IPAM’s publications, only 30–35 % of the content handles African history, whereas 65–70 % European history and 5–10 % North-American and Asian history. The history of Latin American, Middle East and Indian regions is mostly absent. (Kipré 2005, p. 168).
4. History education and textbooks in Cameroon

4.1. History education

Since no information on the weekly syllabus in the Anglophone sub-system is to be found, in the following I will lean on the available information on the Francophone system. Because both sub-systems have largely similar educational structures, I will presume that the available information on the weekly history lessons studied in the Francophone sub-system also roughly applies to the Anglophone sub-system. Table 1 presents the numbers of weekly history lessons (hours) in the Francophone Cameroonian schools.

Table 1. Number of weekly history lessons (hours) in the Francophone Cameroon (UNESCO-IBE 2010, pp. 15–17)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Primary education</th>
<th>Lower secondary education</th>
<th>Upper secondary level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CE1</td>
<td>CE2</td>
<td>CM1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (years)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historie - Géographie</td>
<td>1h30</td>
<td>1h30</td>
<td>1h30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As percentage of the total number of lessons</td>
<td>5 %</td>
<td>5 %</td>
<td>5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lessons in total</td>
<td>30h</td>
<td>30h</td>
<td>30h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the French sub-system, children start learning history at the age of eight in the third class (CE 1) of primary school, combined with geography (Histoire–Géographie). According to UNESCO’s International Bureau on Education (IBE), there are 1.5 weekly hours of history taught in the primary school classes CE1, CE2, CM1 and CM2 (classes 3–6 in the Anglophone sub-system). In the lower secondary school, history combined with

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36 This is with the difference that I have presumed history learning in the Anglophone sub-system to start in the 4th class of primary school, at the age of 9. I was not able to confirm that the history learning would start in the 3rd class also in the Anglophone sub-system. Hence, I have relied on information provided by the prominent national publisher ANUCAM, that does not offer history textbooks for class 3. It should be noted that I had no access to annually published ministerial textbook lists of primary education.

37 To compare the education structures between the Francophone and Anglophone Cameroon, see figure 1 in chapter 1.3.2.
geography and civics (*Histoire–Géographie/Instruction civique*) is taught 4 hours weekly in the classes 6–4 (forms 1–4 in the Anglophone system) and 5 hours in the 3rd class (form 5 in the Anglophone system). In the upper secondary school, in the classes 2–1 and *terminale* (the forms lower and upper 6 in the Anglophone system), 5 hours are taught weekly. (UNESCO-IBE 2010, pp. 15–18).

The significance and weight of history can be assessed only roughly, since the weekly hours are presented as combined with geography and civics studies. In the weekly syllabus of the Francophone system, the share of history varies between 5 % in the primary school, 14–16 % in the lower secondary school and 18–19 % in the upper secondary school. In the Anglophone system, history, geography and civics have their own textbooks and presumably also distinct lessons with subject teachers. In the Francophone system however, contemporary textbooks used in primary school entail both history and geography contents. In all levels of education, languages (French, English) and mathematics have the biggest share of the syllabus. For example, in the first two levels of primary school (SIL and CP) in the Francophone sub-system, there are 10 weekly French lessons. This corresponds 36 % of the syllabus of those classes. English covers 18 % (5 weekly lessons) and mathematics 23 % (6.5 weekly lessons). (UNESCO-IBE 2010, p. 15).

4.2. **Lacking policies, poor availability of textbooks**

The government of Cameroon decides on educational objectives and contents, thus also on the learning materials used in schools (UNESCO-IBE 2010, p. 10). As is the case in many African countries, also in Cameroon there is no policy or long-term strategy for selecting, producing and distributing learning materials nationally (Leguère 2003, p. 40), but both Ministries – the Ministry of Basic Education (MINDUB) and the Ministry of Secondary Education (MINESEC) – annually release lists of materials to be used in primary and secondary schools. Both French and Anglophone sub-systems have their own textbook lists. A consultative organ, “The National council for the approval of text books and didactic materials” (*Le Conseil national d’agrément des manuels scolaires et des matériels didactiques*) was established in 2002 to discuss the relevance and usability of teaching materials. Having members coming from universities, cultural and educational institutes

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38 For example the textbooks of a serie *Champions en Histoire-Géographie* (parts CE 1–CM 2), published by the Paris-based EDICEF in 2004, are divided into separate history and geography parts.
and civic organisations, the council recommends the most applicable materials to MINEDUB and MINESEC for approval on the national list of textbooks to be used in schools. (UNESCO-IBE 2010, pp. 3-4).

Approved textbook lists are typically used in Sub-Saharan Africa, but in some cases – like in Cameroon – the scope of the lists is so wide that they in fact do not help schools to choose relevant titles. In the Anglophone sub-system, there were 391 titles presented on the secondary school’s official textbook list for the academic year 2010/2011, whereas in the Francophone Cameroon, there was a huge number of 536 titles on the list (Republic of Cameroon 2010a; Republic of Cameroon 2010b). The schools are bound to rely on ministerial lists when preparing their own school-specific lists. Heavy lists are though often unrealistic, since the prices of textbooks are high or the books are simply not available. Low level of access to learning materials is defined as one of the key weaknesses of the education system in Cameroon. (Republic of Cameroon 2006, p. 119).

The Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP) sets objectives for improving textbook distribution and lowering their cost in Cameroon. The aim is, for example to diminish costs of primary education that fall on families, particularly in terms of learning materials and school fees. The quality of education will be improved, among others through increasing the availability of pedagogical resources countrywide in all levels of education. (Republic of Cameroon 2006, pp. 98, 107–119). In order to achieve these, national policy lines for producing textbooks, establishing school libraries, strengthening the chain of distribution of books to schools, and training experts for the development of textbooks and other didactic materials, will be introduced. (Republic of Cameroon 2006, pp. 84–85). In 2002, the national budget on education in Cameroon was 176 billion CFA, of which only 10 billion was allocated to textbooks (Leguère 2003, p. 27). In terms of teacher education, the ESSP refers to strategic objectives of “improving the qualification of teachers” and “systematizing teacher education” in all levels of education (Republic of Cameroon 2006, pp. 170–171). Although not explicitly referred to, this provides room also for improving teachers’ skills in using the textbooks and other learning materials efficiently.

39 Added to Cameroon, at least Botswana, Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania, Togo, and Zambia prepare national lists. Only in Malawi, Kenya and Ghana the number of titles approved on the list was limited to three per subject and grade level and only in Malawi, the price of textbooks is of relevance, when approving items to the list. (Verspoor 2008, pp. 157 and 239; World Bank 2008, pp. 40–43).
According to the ESSP, 69% of primary school pupils in Cameroon have access to French language textbooks, 31% to English language textbooks, 53% to Mathematics and 32% to Science textbooks. In all other subjects the situation is worse with only 30% of pupils having access to learning materials. Teachers’ access to teacher’s manuals seems to be somewhat better: 50% of the French teachers have their own manual, 30% of the Mathematics teachers but only 10% of the Science teachers. (Republic of Cameroon 2006, p. 66). Figures represented by the World Bank in 2012 give a much more alarming picture: 15% of the primary school pupils have access to language textbooks in the Far North (Extrême Nord) region, 3% in Littoral and 10% in the North West (Nord Ouest). Respective figures for Mathematics textbooks were 0.4% in the Far North; 0.4% in Littoral and 2% in the North West. (The World Bank 2012, p. 29. See the administrative map of Cameroon in appendix 1). Another World Bank study estimates that roughly 40% of the lower secondary school students in Cameroon have access to core-subject textbooks (French, English and Mathematics) (World Bank 2008, p. 40). The truth may lie somewhere in between these figures, which nevertheless gives all the reason to believe that the majority of pupils and students do not have access to textbooks. Since the availability of the “none-core” textbooks is even much worse than the availability of the core textbooks, one can suggest that access to history textbooks in Cameroon is very low in all education levels.

Cameroon belongs to those Sub-Saharan African countries, where prices of textbooks are high. The World Bank estimates that round CFA 10 000 (approximately 21 USD) is annually required for each primary school pupil to obtain all required textbooks in Cameroon. (Word Bank 2012, pp. 28–29). In the lower secondary school, the reasonable price of a textbook should lay between USD 4–8. In the Francophone Cameroon, the secondary school textbooks are mostly imported from France, and prices therefore much higher, between 17.5 and 35 USD per item (World Bank 2008, p. 40). Such prices are beyond the reach of the vast majority of parents in Cameroon. Costs of the national publisher ANUCAM’s history textbooks were between CFA 2000 and 6000 per item (4.5–13 USD) at the time of purchase in May 2011. Hence, in terms of affordable costs, there is a great potential in developing the domestic publishing industry in Cameroon.
As a result of high prices, a large secondhand market exists in Cameroon, with blurred boundaries between pirated or stolen books. Most secondhand books are sold by informal booksellers (*Librairies par terre*), which normally operate seasonally. Pirated textbooks are common, especially in the Anglophone Cameroon, with secondhand prices of only 15–20% of the original price. (World Bank 2008, pp. 29 and 40). Without low-cost secondhand textbook supplies, most students in secondary schools would have no access to textbooks at all. Teachers do not often even expect their students to have the books and therefore resort to using self-compiled pamphlets and summaries. Direct copying from the blackboard is also a commonly used instructional method. With no other reading available, it would be critical for every child in the classroom to have a textbook.

4.3. National and international publishing

It is widely recognized that improving pupils’ and students’ access to learning materials is one of the most efficient ways to increase the quality of education (Frölich and Michaelowa 2005; Ridell 2008, pp. 13-14; UNESCO 2005, p. 48; Leguère 2003, p. 209; World Bank 2008, p. xx). Taking this into account, it is rather curious that there are no national policies for producing and distributing learning materials in Cameroon. This has led to a situation where few textbooks available have a de facto monopoly in the market. (Republic of Cameroon 2006, p. 66; World Bank 2012, p. 45). Like elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa, also in Cameroon the textbooks are to a large extent edited abroad, the textbooks used in the Anglophone Cameroon in Britain, and the ones used in the Francophone Cameroon in France (World Bank 2012, p. 29; Verspoor 2008, pp. 156–157). In 1994, only 11 out of the total number of 39 textbooks (29%) prescribed for the Francophone sub-system were written by Cameroonian authors, and 36 out of 51 textbooks (71%) in the Anglophone Cameroon (Commission National de la République du Cameroun pour l’UNESCO 1996, p. 17; UNESCO-IBE 2006, p. 20).

Hence, national publishing is more developed in the Anglophone than in the Francophone Cameroon. According to the World Bank, Cameroon has nevertheless witnessed a

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40 According to the World Bank, this is the case generally in the countries of Sub Saharan Africa. With the market liberalization policies from the mid-1990’s onwards, the UK publishing houses were faster to establish branches or subsidiary companies in African countries. Oxford University Press, Longman, Macmillan, Heinemann and a number of other UK publishing companies were opened subsidiary companies in a number of Sub Saharan African countries already in the 1960’s and the subsidiaries also provided
significant development in publishing secondary school textbooks specifically edited for the Cameroonian market. On average, 30% of educational publishing from primary to tertiary level is undertaken by national publishing houses. (World Bank 2008, pp. 59 and 40). Local publishers often lack the experience and basic skills in publishing and therefore face major challenges in competing against the multinational giants. A workshop of the Cameroonian educational publishers, organised in April 2005 in Yaoundé, concluded that Cameroonian authors “were not rigorous enough, the books were not professionally copy-edited and were full of typos and factual mistakes, there was little editorial supervision or quality control, binding, paper, and cover quality were poor, and prices were too high.” (World Bank 2008, p. 59).

Partly as a result of the French government’s and other donor’s support to develop regional courses and a standardized curriculum in the Francophone African countries, regional or Pan-African textbook publishing is still more pronounced in Francophone Africa. Smaller markets and more uniformly organized education systems and curricula provide opportunities for joint ventures with French and Belgian publishers. (World Bank 2008, p. xx). From the 1990’s onwards, a trend towards national interpretations of history took place, but Pan-African publications are still broadly in use (Kipré 2005, pp. 171–172; Kipré 2008, pp. 5 and 11). Similar ventures for developing regional, standardised syllabuses and textbooks were also conducted in Anglophone Africa, especially supported by UNESCO and USAID in the 1960’s and 1970’s but they flawed largely due to differing educational structures between countries. Hence, national and country-specific publishing have taken place. (World Bank 2008, p. 64).

4.4. Textbooks chosen for the study

The focus of my study is on the primary school (classes 4–6) and the lower secondary school (forms 1–5) of the Anglophone Cameroon. Figure 2 presents the use of the textbooks in terms of educational structure.
**Figure 2. The analysed textbooks in relation to educational structure of the Anglophone Cameroon**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Certificate of Education, Advanced level (GCE A/L)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary (2nd cycle)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower 6–Upper 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Certificate of Education, Ordinary level (GCE O/L)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary (1st cycle)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms 1–5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First School-leaving Certificate (FSLC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classes 1–6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Compulsory education**

<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forms 3–5: Ordinary level History for Cameroon schools (age 14–16 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form 2: Introduction to History, Book two (age 13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form 1: Introduction to History, Book one (age 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Primary History, Class 6 (age 11 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Primary History, Class 5 (age 10 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Primary History, Class 4 (age 9 years)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since there is a larger number of students accessing and completing primary and lower secondary than upper secondary school, one can suggest that history textbooks of the primary and lower secondary school have a more prominent role in the forming of historical consciousness in Cameroon than those of the upper secondary level. In this study, nationally produced history textbooks used in the Anglophone Cameroon are analysed with focus on the production of Anucam Educational Books Plc (later ANUCAM). According to the publishing house’s web pages, the activities of ANUCAM goes back to 1984 when the publishing started under the auspices of an association Anucam Centre for Research and development (ANUCRED) in Menji. In 2007, the association was altered into a company with the head office in Buea, in the South West region. ANUCAM’s primary goal is said to be to develop and publish “low-cost
educational books and manuals for use in Cameroonian schools”. The company considers itself to be

\[\text{\textit{... the acknowledged leader of indigenous book publishing companies in English in the Republic of Cameroon, with over 160 titles produced in all subjects on the school curriculum. Her titles on the core educational subjects like English Language, Mathematics and French, occupy the primary position in most educational institutions in Cameroon (at Primary and Secondary Levels), giving her the commanding position in the field of educational publishing in English, in Cameroon.}}\]

The following six history textbooks were selected for the study, based on the list of textbooks indicated in the ANUCAM’s web pages in March 2011:\footnote{\url{http://www.anucambooks.com} Retrieved on 24 June 2012.}

**Primary school, classes 4–6:**


**Lower secondary school, forms 1–5:**


\footnote{ANUCAM has later revised the company’s web pages and the list of textbooks is no longer to be found at the time of writing.}
The lists of the approved textbooks for secondary education (academic year 2010/2011) of both Anglophone and Francophone sub-systems were found in the internet. Respective lists for primary education or other academic years in the secondary education were not to be found online. The lists were not provided by the responsible Ministries (MINEDUB and MINESEC). Thus, I had to rely on the information given on ANUCAM’s web pages, according to which all learning materials published are recommended by the government.

In the official textbook list for academic year 2010/2011 in the Anglophone sub-system, there are references to 13 history textbook titles in total, of which many are used in several classes. 10 history textbook titles for the lower secondary level (forms 1–5) and 5 for the upper secondary level (lower and upper 6). Table 2 presents the history textbooks that were to be used in the secondary schools in the Anglophone sub-system during the academic year 2010/2011.

Table 2. History textbooks in Cameroon, approved by the Ministry of Secondary Education: Anglophone sub-system, secondary school, academic year 2010/2011 (Republic of Cameroon 2010a, pp. 15–20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Publisher (year)</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>History of beginners book 1</td>
<td>Tazifor and Kingan</td>
<td>Education book centre (2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Introduction to history book 1</td>
<td>Tazifor and Kingan</td>
<td>Education book centre (2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Introduction to history book 2</td>
<td>S.D.Forming et al.</td>
<td>ANUCAM (2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cameroon history for secondary schools and colleges</td>
<td>V.C. Fanso</td>
<td>Macmillan (2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Basic facts on Cameroon history since 1884</td>
<td>John N. Mukake</td>
<td>Cure Series Publishers (2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ordinary level history for Cameroon schools</td>
<td>L.Tazanu et al.</td>
<td>ANUCAM (2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Cameroon history in the 19th and 20th centuries</td>
<td>Mangula L.</td>
<td>ANUCAM (2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The world since 1914</td>
<td>Joe Scott</td>
<td>Heineman (2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Essential modern world history</td>
<td>Steven Waugh</td>
<td>Nelson Thornes (2009)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the Anglophone sub-system’s official list of textbooks, there are 3 history textbooks published by ANUCAM. Two of them are analysed in my study: *Introduction to history, book 2* (2007) and *Ordinary level history for Cameroon schools* (2008). Due to the lack of access to governmental documents, I have little evidence to confirm that the rest of ANUCAM’s titles analysed in my study would have been placed in the official textbook list of previous academic years such as 2008/2009 or 2009/2010. However, at least some schools seem to have relied heavily on ANUCAM’s publications in their history teaching.\(^{43}\)

Taking into account the textbooks of all disciplines on the list, ANUCAM in fact seems to be the most prominent publishing house producing textbooks in the secondary education in the Anglophone Cameroon. ANUCAM’s production covers textbooks in history, civics, English, French, mathematics, chemistry and physics. With 51 titles on the official textbook list, the production of ANUCAM equals roughly 13% of the total number of 391 titles on the list. Apart from the UK-based Oxford University Press, which also has 51 titles on the list, no other publishing house has this many titles approved on the list. (Republic of Cameroon 2010a). Thus, ANUCAM can be regarded as a well-established Cameroonian publisher, and therefore its production provides a relevant sample for a narrow case study like this thesis.

\(^{43}\) For example, the *Cameroon College of Arts, Science and Technology (CCAST)* in Bambili included 7 titles in history for the academic year 2008/2009 to be studied in the forms 3, 4 and 5, of which 5 titles were published by ANUCAM: *Ordinary Level History for Cameroon Schools* was to be used in all the lower secondary forms and as the only title in the form 3; *Introduction to Cameroon History, Book 3*, was to be studied in the forms 4–5. (CCAST, 2008). With 57% of the candidates passing the Ordinary Level General Certificate of Education (OL/GCE) in 2008, CCAST seems to be an elite school among the 468 secondary schools listed by a private media source Cameroun-online. Only few schools on the list seem to outdo this performance. *Government Bilingual High School* in Bamenda for example had the rate of 82.52%, *Government high school* in Akum had a rate of 80.39% and *Atlantic Bilingual College* in Douala 70.31%. A cursory look into the rates of passed candidates, however, gives an impression that the rates for passing the OL/GCE are commonly even as low as 20%. (Cameroun-online 2008).
Although there is also a number of multinational publishing houses – mainly based in the USA and UK – active in the Anglophone Cameroon, an interesting comparison can be made with the official history textbook list of the secondary education in the Francophone sub-system (academic year 2010/2011), as illustrated in the table 3.

Table 3. History textbooks in Cameroon, approved by the Ministry of Secondary Education: Francophone sub-system, secondary school, academic year 2010/2011 (Republic of Cameroon 2010b, pp. 35–40)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ouvrage</th>
<th>Auteurs</th>
<th>Editeurs (annees)</th>
<th>Classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Histoire 6ème (L'Afrique et le Monde)</td>
<td>Une equipe d'enseignants</td>
<td>Hatier (2009)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Histoire 5ème (L'Afrique et le Monde)</td>
<td>Une equipe d'enseignants</td>
<td>Hatier (2009)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Histoire 4ème</td>
<td>Une equipe d'enseignants</td>
<td>Hatier (2009)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Histoire 3ème</td>
<td>Une equipe d'enseignants</td>
<td>Hatier (2009)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Pas de livres adapté au programme</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Histoire</td>
<td>Jean Michel Lambin</td>
<td>Hachette (2010)</td>
<td>Terminale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the lower secondary level (classes 6–3), only one history textbook is given per class, all written by a “group of teachers” and published by the Paris-based French giant, Éditions Hatier. Together with the simplified textbook titles – *Histoire 6ème – L’Afrique et le Monde, Histoire 5ème, Histoire 4ème* and *Histoire 3ème* – this leaves room to assume that the publications are destined for broader African market, not only to be used in Cameroon. Interestingly, the official textbook list does not point any material to be used in history learning in the 2nd class of upper secondary level. The reason for this is simply stated as “there are no books available suitable for the curriculum”.

The textbook used in the final class (*terminale*) is published by another French giant, Hachette Éducation. Thus, foreign (French) publishing houses have a *de facto* monopoly in the secondary school history textbook market in the Francophone Cameroon. The Paris-

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44 On the official list, there are for example history textbooks of the UK-based Macmillan Publishers Ltd, which operates in more than 80 countries and has published books in Africa for 40 years. Also Heinemann Publishing, established in 1890 in London, and Nelson Thornes Ltd have an outreach to global markets. Macmillan Publishers Ltd has 43 titles in various subjects in the official textbook list of the Anglophone Cameroon, equivalent to 9% of all titles.

45 According to Piére Kipré, the French publishing houses Hatier, Edicef and Nathan dominated the history textbook market in the Francophone Africa from 1970 to 1990 with their Pan-African series *Carap* and *Ipam* (Kipré 2008, p. 13).
based publishing house Hachette with its branches Hatier and Edicef has a leading position in the official textbook list for the academic year 2010/2011. Roughly 30% (159 titles) of the total 536 titles are published by Hachette and its subsidiaries. The production covers virtually all subjects – history, civics, geography, philosophy, mathematics, French, English, German, Spanish and Latin. (Republic of Cameroon 2010b).
II TEXTBOOK CONTENT ANALYSIS

In this section, chapter 5 aims at giving an overview of the geographical division of the analysed textbooks’ contents. The content has been divided into the world history, the regional history (history of Europe and Africa) and the national history (history of Cameroon). In the construction of historical consciousness and national identity, it is of relevance to have an idea about the share of each in the textbooks. Space analysis as a quantitative method offers a suitable tool for classification. Results of the analysis are presented in tables 2–7. In chapter 6, the emphasis is on the history of Cameroon, where the construction of the concepts the “self” and the “nation” are traced through qualitative content analysis with aims to examine the national identity and historical consciousness as they appear in the textbooks.

The textbooks leave much room for technical improvement in terms of better serving constructivist learning. Typos are frequent, and the text is constructed almost entirely of lists of the course of events. Revision questions are poorly designed, encouraging simply to copy the lists given in the text. Hence, an analytical approach is lacking and the merely descriptive text gives no food for critical thinking. There is also unnecessary repetition – entire chapters appear to be handled again and again with light approach changes or content additions to what has been learnt in previous grades. Illustration is rare, black-and-white and there are mostly no linkages between illustration and text. Pictures are mostly (poorly) drawn, even maps. Photographs are rare. Hence, more illustrative material in general, but in particular carefully selected, informative pictures with linkages to the text and more skilfully drawn maps should be used to support learning.

Sometimes there is an overflow of unnecessary details such as exact dates, while elsewhere in the text, further clarification would better serve learning. For example, more often than not, new or unfamiliar terminology is not accompanied by explanations or definitions. As observed by Pièrre Kipré, history textbooks in the Francophone African countries still largely reflect an understanding of “passive learning”, subordinating pupils and students to mere objects of learning and placing teacher in the centre of learning process, thereby representing the teacher as the “fount of all knowledge”. This is despite the fact that the approach of active and independent learning, where teacher is considered as the facilitator
of learning, gained ground internationally from the mid-1970’s. (Kipré 2008, pp. 6 and 10). Kipré’s observation applies fully also to the history textbooks of ANUCAM analysed in my study. In the following analysis however, not much attention has been paid to pedagogical usability of the textbooks. My focus is on the contents of the texts – on national identity and historical consciousness, and that is why the pedagogical approach does not come into it.
5. National History, Regional History, World History

Without access to official history syllabuses in Cameroon, in the following analysis I have relied on the assumption that as one of the prominent national textbook publishers, the history textbooks of ANUCAM can be considered to reflect national objectives for learning history. In the first phase of my analysis, I have drafted an overall picture of whose and what history is being handled. Here, I consider it relevant to find out, to what extent the national (Cameroon), the regional (Africa and Europe) and the world history are handled in the contemporary textbooks. In the following, I have analysed both the texts and the pictures of the textbooks, using mainly the quantitative method of space analysis. Hence, I will not go deep into questions that would require qualitative content analysis. For example, I have not analysed, what is the image presented of Africa in the textbooks. Qualitative content analysis and imagalogy will be used in the chapter 6, as I examine in more detail the national history.

5.1. Texts – emphasis on the history of Cameroon and Africa

The categorisation of the text was conducted by counting the textbook contents page by page. The content was divided in the following categories: “world history”, “history of Africa”, “history of Europe” and “history of Cameroon”. The geographical division of the contents has been summarised in table 4. The analysed textbooks contain 809 pages altogether. Each category has been given sub-categories based on major themes of the chapters, as presented in tables 5–7. Certain historical themes and phenomena could have been placed under several categories. For example, the trans-Atlantic slave trade has mainly been classified under the category “history of Africa” but – at least partly – it could have been classified also as the “history of Europe” or “world history”. Those chapters on slavery and slave trade which were clearly focusing on Cameroon, were placed under the “history of Cameroon”. With the same logic, the contents concerning the World Wars were classified under “world history”, and those chapters with a clear focus on the warfare in Cameroon or in Africa were respectively classified under the “history of Cameroon” and “history of Africa”. In order to avoid confusion and fragmentation, all content has been placed under one category only.
In the textbooks, priority is given to the national history. The history of Cameroon covers 261 pages (32 %) of the entire history syllabus. It is especially prominent in the primary school, where the history of Cameroon forms the largest share in every class. In class 4, only the history of Cameroon (68 %) and world history (32 %) are learned. In the 5th class, 67 % of the contents consist of the history of Cameroon, 36 % in the 6th class. In the forms 3–5 of the lower secondary school, the Ordinary Level History, is clearly divided between the history of Cameroon, Africa and world history (sections A, B and C in the textbook). Form 3 is entirely devoted to learning the national history. I will study the appearance of the history of Cameroon in more detail in the next chapter. In the following, I will give an overview of the textbook contents on “history of Africa”, “history of Europe” and “world history”, as revealed by quantitative analysis.

5.1.1. History of Africa

The category “history of Africa” forms the second largest share of the contents (256 pages, 32 %.) The history of Africa is learned in five classes: classes 5 and 6 in the primary school and forms 1, 2 and 4 in the lower secondary school. In the 5th class, 22 % of the contents, 28 % in the 6th class, 35 % in form 1 and 54 % of the contents in form 2 has been categorized under the history of Africa. In form 4, nothing but the history of Africa is learned. Due to colonial past and the influence of Europe on the entire African continent, I considered it useful to divide the contents of the history of Africa into the following historical periods: the pre-colonial period, the period of colonialism and decolonialisation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/ Textbook title</th>
<th>Primary education</th>
<th>Lower secondary education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SPH4 Class 4</td>
<td>SPH5 Class 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World history</td>
<td>32 %</td>
<td>43 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Africa</td>
<td>27 %</td>
<td>35 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Europe</td>
<td>68 %</td>
<td>27 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Cameroon</td>
<td>67 %</td>
<td>28 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>100 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ITH1 Form 1</td>
<td>ITH2 Form 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 %</td>
<td>55 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31 %</td>
<td>100 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68 %</td>
<td>100 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OLH Form 3</td>
<td>OLH Form 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>100 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OLH Form 5</td>
<td>All classes and forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>100 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OLH Form 5</td>
<td>21 % (173.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32 % (255.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32 % (260.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>100 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(809)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and the post-colonial period. Table 5 summarises the contents in more detail. Themes given in the table represent roughly the titles or major themes of individual chapters in the textbooks.

**Table 5. Thematic division of the contents of the “History of Africa” in number of pages (and as percentages)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/ Textbook title</th>
<th>SPH4 Class 4</th>
<th>SPH5 Class 5</th>
<th>SPH6 Class 6</th>
<th>ITH1 Form 1</th>
<th>ITH2 Form 2</th>
<th>OLH Form 3</th>
<th>OLH Form 4</th>
<th>OLH Form 5</th>
<th>All classes and forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa as “the cradle of mankind” (New Stone age – Iron age)</td>
<td>2.5 (15 %)</td>
<td>10 (27 %)</td>
<td>12.5 (9 %)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The spread of Islam in Africa (750–1500 AD)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.75 (7 %)</td>
<td>4.75 (4 %)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilisations of the ancient Egypt (-300 BC)</td>
<td>2 (12 %)</td>
<td>5.75 (25 %)</td>
<td>16 (43 %)</td>
<td>23.75 (9 %)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empires and kingdoms of the Western Sudan (3000BC–1500AD)</td>
<td>8 (48 %)</td>
<td>8 (35 %)</td>
<td>27 (42 %)</td>
<td>43 (17 %)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilisations of the Central, Eastern and Southern Africa (3000BC–1700AD)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 (30 %)</td>
<td>15 (23 %)</td>
<td>26 (10 %)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The forest states and kingdoms in West Africa: Oyo, Benin and Dahomey (-1600AD)</td>
<td>4 (24 %)</td>
<td>3.5 (15 %)</td>
<td>6.5 (10 %)</td>
<td>14 (5 %)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavery and the slave trade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Africa before colonialism, in total</strong></td>
<td>16.5 100 %</td>
<td>17.25 100 %</td>
<td>37 100 %</td>
<td>63.25 100 %</td>
<td>134 100 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European explorations in Africa</td>
<td>2.5 (11 %)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.5 (1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The scramble for Africa and its partition in the Berlin Conference (1884)</td>
<td>3 (13 %)</td>
<td>0.75 (1 %)</td>
<td>21 (18 %)</td>
<td>24.75 (10 %)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European colonial policies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa and the First World War</td>
<td>3 (3 %)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rise of African nationalism</td>
<td>16 (14 %)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16 (6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The decolonisation of Africa</td>
<td>38 (33 %)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38 (15 %)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46 The Empires of Ghana, Mali, Songhai and Kanem-Bornu and the Hausa Kingdoms are discussed in the textbooks.

47 Kingdoms of the Bantu, Kush, Meroa, Aksum, Great Zimbabwe and the dynasties of the Christian Ethiopia are discussed in the textbooks.
### Colonialism and the decolonisation of Africa, in total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Pre-colonial Africa, in total</th>
<th>Colonialism and the decolonisation of Africa, in total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political instability, wars, attempts at nation building</td>
<td>17 (15%)</td>
<td>94.25 (37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomacy</td>
<td>11 (9%)</td>
<td>88 (76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-colonial Africa, in total</td>
<td>28 (24%)</td>
<td>0.75 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Africa, in total</td>
<td>16.5 (100%)</td>
<td>5.5 (24%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.75 (100%)</td>
<td>0.75 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37 (100%)</td>
<td>88 (76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64 (100%)</td>
<td>94.25 (37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28 (24%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28 (11%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The period of the pre-colonial history seems to be most predominantly discussed. More than half (52%) of all the content examining the history of Africa focuses on the pre-colonial history. A special focus has been given to Africa as “the cradle of mankind” (9%), the ancient Egypt (9%), ancient kingdoms of the Western Sudan (17%) and of the Central, Eastern and Southern Africa (10%). Despite the immense dimension of slavery and the slave trade in the history of Africa – without limiting them to concern only the trans-Atlantic slave trade – and their tragic significance for the development of the entire continent, the phenomenon is discussed only in 14 pages. This corresponds to 5% of the entire content concerning the history of Africa. A further 3.5 pages have been categorised under the history of Cameroon, as the text focuses on slavery or the slave trade in Cameroon.

Pre-colonial history is a clear focus in the primary school and in the early classes of the lower secondary school, whereas the period of colonialism and decolonisation is emphasised (76%) in section B of the Ordinary Level History, thus in the 4th form of the lower secondary education. It seems peculiar that the post-colonial period is not even lightly touched upon in any other class but form 4. Only 11% of the entire content examining the history of Africa concerns the post-colonial period.

#### 5.1.2. History of Europe

Due to historical bonds between European and African continents through colonialism, I considered it relevant to examine also the “history of Europe” as category of its own. As summarised in table 4, this category has a share of 15% in the textbooks, which is smaller than the share of world history (22%). However, compared with for example the history of Asia (32 pages) or the history of North America or the United States of America (13...
pages), the 119 pages devoted to the history of Europe is large enough amount to conclude that the continent plays a role in the historical consciousness as promoted in the textbooks. Table 6 summarises the contents in more detail.

Table 6. Thematic division of the contents of the “History of Europe” in number of pages (and as percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/ Textbook title</th>
<th>Primary education</th>
<th>Lower secondary education</th>
<th>All classes and forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prehistory in Europe</td>
<td>0.25 (1 %)</td>
<td></td>
<td>17.25 (14 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient Greece (-300 BC)</td>
<td>3.25 (14 %)</td>
<td>14 (60 %)</td>
<td>12.25 (10 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient Rome (1500BC–1500AD)</td>
<td>3.25 (14 %)</td>
<td>9 (39 %)</td>
<td>17 (14 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The middle ages (450–1200AD)</td>
<td>4 (18 %)</td>
<td>13 (36 %)</td>
<td>17 (14 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The renaissance</td>
<td>2 (9 %)</td>
<td>6.75 (19 %)</td>
<td>8.75 (7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The reformation and counter reformation</td>
<td>3 (13 %)</td>
<td>6.25 (17 %)</td>
<td>9.25 (8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The industrial revolution and the Enlightenment</td>
<td>3 (13 %)</td>
<td>7.75 (22 %)</td>
<td>10.75 (9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The great discoveries (15th–17th century)</td>
<td>4 (18 %)</td>
<td>2.25 (6 %)</td>
<td>6.25 (5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rise of the nationalism in Europe (1848–1871): Revolutions, unification of Italy and Germany</td>
<td>16 (43 %)</td>
<td>16 (13 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrialisation in Europe and the colonisation of Africa and Asia (1870–1914)</td>
<td>3 (8 %)</td>
<td>3 (3 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rise of totalitarian regimes: national socialism in Germany</td>
<td>9 (24 %)</td>
<td>9 (8 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe since 1945, Integration of Europe</td>
<td>9.5 (25 %)</td>
<td>9.5 (8 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Europe in total</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>23.25</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike the history of Africa and Cameroon, the history of Europe was not divided into pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. It does not seem feasible to divide the history of Europe on the same basis. The syllabus for the history of Europe follows to a large extent the periodic order common in the history teaching in Europe. Ancient Greece (14 %) and Rome (10 %) as well as the Middle Ages (14 %) have a predominant part. Also
periods and phenomena of the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Age of Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution are all discussed in the textbooks. Also in the case of the history of Europe, it is striking, how little focus has been given to the contemporary history – only 8 % of the entire contents examining the history of Europe discusses the post-1945 period. Thus, the period after the Second World War is largely ignored.

5.1.3. World history

“World history” in my analysis refers to historical events, processes or phenomena, that have a global aspect or broadly speaking an essential meaning for humanity, or involve an undefined or a number of countries or regions on several continents. The category includes for example the prehistoric era such as chapters “The prehistoric period” (SPH5, 2006, pp. 13–16) and “The early man” (ITH1 2007, pp. 6–12), the birth of world religions “The Christian Religion” (ITH1 2007, pp. 102–106) and “The Origin of Islam” (ITH2 2007, pp. 1–3) as well as the general outlines of the World Wars and the formation of the United Nations and other intergovernmental and international non-governmental organisations. The category covers also contents on all other continents, countries or regions excluding Africa and Europe. For example, the history of Asia is discussed in forms 1 and 2, and 5. Also general topics such as ”What is history” (SPH4 2006, pp. 1–8) or “Meaning and contents of history” (ITH1 2007, pp. 1–5) have been included in this category. Some of these topics are closely linked to civics, such as “The family” (SPH4 2007, pp. 8–9), where the types and importance of family are discussed. With this categorization, 21 % of the contents was counted as the “world history”. Table 7 gives a more detailed picture of how world history is constructed in the textbooks.

Table 7. Thematic division of the contents of the “world history” in number of pages (and as percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/ Textbook title</th>
<th>Primary education</th>
<th>Lower secondary education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SPH4 Class 4</td>
<td>SPH5 Class 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified (Why study history, The family, Migrations, Religions)</td>
<td>10.5 (64 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone age-Iron age (ca 500 000–1000 BC)</td>
<td>6 (36 %)</td>
<td>4 (48 %)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7 reveals that in the contents categorized as world history, the stone age (14 %) and the ancient period with Mesopotamian civilization (9 %) seem to have an emphasized role. The Asian continent (especially China and India) has been approached through the following (rough) periods: 2000 BC–500 AD (ITH1 2007, pp. 70–78), 700–1500 AD (ITH2 2007, pp. 86–94) and 1900–1980 (OLH 2008, pp. 341–355), covering altogether approximately 19 % of the world history in the analysed textbooks. The history of the United States of America covers roughly 7 % of world history and is divided into two periods: around 700–1500 AD (ITH2 2007, pp. 95–98) and 1900–2000 (OLH 2008, pp. 320–328).

As in the case of the history of Europe, world history was not divided into further comparable periods such as “pre-colonialism”, “colonialism” and “post-colonialism”. Again, the most recent history (contemporary history) has only a small role. Only in the final class of the lower secondary school (form 5), thus in section C of the Ordinary Level
History, world history and the history of Europe examined (barely) reach the 21\textsuperscript{st} century. Despite the fairly recent publication year of the \textit{Ordinary Level History} (in 2008), the few remarks on history extending to the 21\textsuperscript{st} century are limited only to events that took place before 2005. For example, unit 41 titled “The United States of America” lists the presidents of the USA since 1945, but ends the list with Bill Clinton (1993–2000) with a short reference to his follower “The Republican came back in 2001 with George W. Bush” (OLH 2008, p. 328). The year 2004 has been mentioned in the unit 42 discussing “The Middle-East – 1900 to the present” as “in the year 2004 alone, Israel murdered two leaders of the Palestinian militant group Hamas” and the “American troops invaded Iraq in April 2004” (OLH 2008, p. 339).

In the 4\textsuperscript{th} class of the primary school and form 1 of the lower secondary school history is examined as a discipline and the theoretical framework is approached. In both classes, an introduction to the methodology of learning history is given. The first chapter of the \textit{Senior Primary History, Class 4} is titled “What is history” with the sub-titles “The meaning of history”, “How we study history”, “Why we study history” and “Sources of history” (SPH4 2006, pp. 1–7). The content remains virtually unchanged in the \textit{Introduction to History, Book 1} where the first chapter is titled “Meaning and contents of History” (ITH1 2007, pp. 1–5). Both textbooks acknowledge that one reason for learning history is “to understand the present” (SPH4 2006, p. 5). The \textit{Introduction to History} even adds “[--] and study today’s world problems” (ITH1 2007, p. 1), but only the latter points out that history should be learned also in order “to acquire critical skills”. (Ibid.). What this, in more concrete terms, means remains unclear in the textbook.

However, despite of the characterization of history as a discipline, the textbooks are mostly lacking all references to “today’s world problems”. The only explicit reference to such is in the \textit{Ordinary Level History}. Its very last chapter (unit 44) is titled “World diplomacy since 1900” (OLH 2008, pp. 356–377) which contains, among others, the following sub-titles: “Some issues of international concern”, “Refugee problems”, “Human rights” and “Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS)” (OLH 2008, pp. 374–376). To conclude, history has only vaguely been used as a tool for critically examining today’s phenomena in the textbooks. Nor do the textbooks offer any basis for critically reflect on the essential question about whose history in fact is taught and what is the role of Europe in forming the contents of the history.
5.2. Illustration – emphasis on the history of Europe

Textbook illustration has been increasingly acknowledged to have an important role in supporting the learning process. In the history textbooks, pictures should no longer be only decorative or illustrative, but serve as sources of historical experience, enabling comparisons and identification of special features of a phenomenon, an event, a person etc. Representations of contradictory or atypical features again enable further discussion and debate in the classroom. (Rüsen 1994, pp. 164–165). Pictures used in the analysed textbooks, cannot be seen as such sources of historical experience, but they are mainly decorative, with often no caption or even explicit linkage to the text. The black-and-white pictures are also largely drawn – often poorly. Only few photos have been used, mainly of persons. However, similarly to the texts, my analysis does not aim to evaluate the pedagogical usability of the pictures, but rather focuses on their general appearance in the textbooks.

The pictures were analysed similarly to the text, dividing them into geographical categories “world”, “Africa”, “Europe” and “Cameroon”, with the aim to examine, to what extent the textbook illustration represents the world history, regional and national history. The textbook illustration can be summarized as follows:

Table 8. Geographical division of the contents of the analysed history textbooks as percentages (and in number of pictures), illustration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/title</th>
<th>SPH4 Class 4</th>
<th>SPH5 Class 5</th>
<th>SPH6 Class 6</th>
<th>ITH1 Form 1</th>
<th>ITH2 Form 2</th>
<th>OLH Form 3</th>
<th>OLH Form 4</th>
<th>OLH Form 5</th>
<th>All classes and forms (pictures)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>45 %</td>
<td>20 %</td>
<td>18 %</td>
<td>43 %</td>
<td>12 %</td>
<td></td>
<td>55 %</td>
<td></td>
<td>26 % (66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>10 %</td>
<td>9 %</td>
<td>14 %</td>
<td>27 %</td>
<td>46 %</td>
<td></td>
<td>90 %</td>
<td>9 %</td>
<td>20 % (51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>13 %</td>
<td>9 %</td>
<td>52 %</td>
<td>29 %</td>
<td>42 %</td>
<td>9 %</td>
<td>10 %</td>
<td>36 %</td>
<td>27 % (69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>33 %</td>
<td>63 %</td>
<td>16 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>91 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26 % (65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pictures</td>
<td>100 % (40)</td>
<td>100 % (35)</td>
<td>100 % (50)</td>
<td>100 % (56)</td>
<td>100 % (26)</td>
<td>100 % (23)</td>
<td>100 % (10)</td>
<td>100 % (11)</td>
<td>100 % (251)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There are altogether 251 pictures in the textbooks. This is not a big number considering that pictures are divided into 809 pages. Especially the Ordinary Level History contains very few pictures – only 44 pictures in a textbook of 380 pages. Based on the text, I previously stated that the national history and the history of Africa are predominant in the textbooks. Interestingly, this is not entirely supported by the illustration, as presented in table 8. If the category “history of Europe” had the lowest share of the text (15 %), most of the pictures (27 %) were placed under the category “Europe”, whereas only 20 % were placed under the category “Africa”. 65 pictures (26 %) were placed under the category “Cameroon”, whereas 66 (26 %) were placed under the “world”.

I believe this reveals something about the prevailing role and influence of Europe in the historical consciousness transmitted in the Cameroonian textbooks. The following sub-categories were given for analysing the pictures: “culture, monuments and customs”, “maps”, “charts” and “figures”. Table 9a gives an overview of the division of pictures into these sub-categories, whereas table 9b illustrates in more detail, how these sub-categories appear in relation to the geographical categories of “world”, “Africa”, “Europe” and “Cameroon”.

Table 9a: Themes of the pictures, in numbers (and as percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Textbook title</th>
<th>Primary education</th>
<th>Lower secondary education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SPH4 Class 4</td>
<td>SPH5 Class 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture, customs, monuments</td>
<td>27 (68 %)</td>
<td>9 (26 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maps</td>
<td>6 (15 %)</td>
<td>8 (23 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charts</td>
<td>2 (5 %)</td>
<td>3 (9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figures</td>
<td>5 (13 %)</td>
<td>15 (43 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pictures (Total)</td>
<td>40 (100 %)</td>
<td>35 (100 %)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9b: Themes of the pictures, in numbers (and as percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Textbook title</th>
<th>Primary education</th>
<th>Lower secondary education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SPH4 Class 4</td>
<td>ITH1 Form 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SPH5 Class 5</td>
<td>ITH2 Form 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SPH6 Class 6</td>
<td>OLH Form 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ITH2 Form 2</td>
<td>OLH Form 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OLH Form 5</td>
<td>All classes, forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture, customs, monuments (world)</td>
<td>17 (43 %)</td>
<td>10 (18 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 (17 %)</td>
<td>1 (4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 (8 %)</td>
<td>38 (15 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map (world)</td>
<td>2 (4 %)</td>
<td>7 (3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chart (world)</td>
<td>1 (3 %)</td>
<td>13 (5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure (world)</td>
<td>3 (5 %)</td>
<td>5 (45 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World (Total)</td>
<td>18 (45 %)</td>
<td>9 (18 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 (20 %)</td>
<td>24 (43 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 (18 %)</td>
<td>3 (12 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 (45 %)</td>
<td>66 (26 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture, customs, monuments (Afr)</td>
<td>4 (10 %)</td>
<td>3 (6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map (Afr)</td>
<td>3 (9 %)</td>
<td>5 (9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chart (Afr)</td>
<td>1 (2 %)</td>
<td>9 (35 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure (Afr)</td>
<td>4 (40 %)</td>
<td>16 (6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa (Total)</td>
<td>4 (10 %)</td>
<td>3 (9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 (14 %)</td>
<td>15 (27 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 (46 %)</td>
<td>9 (90 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 (9 %)</td>
<td>51 (20 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture, customs, monuments (Eur)</td>
<td>2 (5 %)</td>
<td>4 (8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map (Eur)</td>
<td>2 (4 %)</td>
<td>5 (9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chart (Eur)</td>
<td>10 (20 %)</td>
<td>2 (8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure (Eur)</td>
<td>3 (8 %)</td>
<td>2 (20 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe (Total)</td>
<td>5 (13 %)</td>
<td>3 (9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 (52 %)</td>
<td>16 (29 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 (42 %)</td>
<td>2 (9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 (45 %)</td>
<td>69 (27 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture, customs, monuments (Cam)</td>
<td>4 (10 %)</td>
<td>3 (9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map (Cam)</td>
<td>6 (15 %)</td>
<td>2 (4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chart (Cam)</td>
<td>1 (3 %)</td>
<td>2 (6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure (Cam)</td>
<td>2 (5 %)</td>
<td>7 (30 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon (total)</td>
<td>13 (33 %)</td>
<td>22 (63 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 (16 %)</td>
<td>1 (2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21 (51 %)</td>
<td>65 (26 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pictures (Total)</td>
<td>40 (100 %)</td>
<td>35 (100 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50 (100 %)</td>
<td>56 (100 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 (100 %)</td>
<td>23 (100 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 (100 %)</td>
<td>11 (100 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>251 (100 %)</td>
<td>26 (100 %)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sub-category “culture, monuments and customs” refers to pictures of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Pictures placed here mainly aim to stimulate students’ interest and imagination, but their didactic value is low. Being poorly drawn and often without any direct reference to the text, they contain only little information supportive for learning. As illustrated in table 9a, the majority (31 %) of the pictures fall into this sub-category. In the primary school class 4, the vast majority of pictures (68 %) were classified here, whereas in the final forms of the lower secondary school (forms 4 and 5), the textbooks offer no illustration falling into this sub-category. Table 9b further illustrates that pictures of this sub-category are especially favored in the illustration of world history. Like was the case in categorizing the text, also in analysing the illustration, “the world” refers to pictures that are relevant for the universal history of the humanity such as drawings linked to prehistoric era (eg. SPH4 2006, pp. 13–18; SPH5 2006, pp. 13–14; ITH1 2007, p. 9) and pictures that can be linked with other countries or regions but Africa, Europe or Cameroon, such as the one representing old Chinese writing (ITH1 2007, p. 73).

In case of the category “Cameroon”, there is for example illustration on the people migrating in Cameroon (SPH4 2006, p. 20) and a mosque, church and animist practices in the chapter “Religions in Cameroon” (SPH4 2006, pp. 25–28; SPH5 2006, pp. 42–43). Without the context provided by the chapter, such pictures could have been placed also under the category “Africa”. Similarly, the pictures of chained African slaves in the chapter discussing the trans-Atlantic slave trade (ITH2, pp. 113–114) were categorized under “Africa”. The category “Europe” covers pictures of ancient Greece and Rome such as “The temple of Athena” (SPH4 2006, p. 4; ITH1 2007, p. 84) and “Gladiator fighters” (ITH1 2007, p. 98), pictures concerning the middle ages such as “a feudal knight” and “a crusader” (ITH2 2007, p. 66 and 70), the renaissance with St Peter’s Basilica (ITH2 2007, p. 77) and the industrial revolution with pictures of “the Spinning Jenny” and the first steam railway engine, “the Rocket” (SPH6 2006, p.36, ITH2 2007, pp. 106–107).

As history is often narrated through prominent personalities, it seemed reasonable to set up also a sub-category of “figures”. This refers to illustrations of historically significant persons and it indeed forms the second largest sub-category (25 %) as can be seen in the table 9a. It is interesting to note, that this is the most prominent sub-category in the illustration of the history of Europe (27 figures). Compared to the history of Africa (4 figures) and the history of Cameroon (25 figures), which both contain pictures of only
political figures of mainly late colonial or early post-colonial period\textsuperscript{48}, the European figures represent a broader spectrum of societal life and cover several historical periods. I would see here reflections of the European historical consciousness. For example, the philosophers Socrates, Plato and Aristotle (SPH6 2006, p. 11; ITH1 2007, p. 84) are displayed as well as the reformationist Martin Luther (SPH 6 2006, p. 31; ITH2 2007, p. 81), Portuguese explorers Prince Henry (SPH5 2006, p. 18; SPH6 2006, p. 38) and Vasco da Gama (SPH6 2006, p. 40), Prime Minister of France Jules Ferry (OLH 2008, p. 153), German Chancellors Otto von Bismarck (SPH6 2006, p. 51) and Adolf Hitler (OLH 2008, p. 299). Only 8 figures were placed under the category “the world”.\textsuperscript{49}

Table 9a illustrates that 24 % of the illustration was placed under “maps”. Table 9b further illustrates that maps are especially favoured in the illustration of the history of Africa (22 maps) and Cameroon (20 maps). Whereas the African maps are especially represented in the lower secondary school, the maps of Cameroon have a distinct role in the primary school textbooks and contain themes such as archeological sites in Cameroon (SPH5 2006, p. 8), the coast of Cameroon upon the arrival of the Portuguese in the 15\textsuperscript{th} century (SPH4 2006, p. 23; SPH5 2006, p. 18), Cameroon as the German protectorate (SPH6 2006, p. 63), locations where the natives resisted German rule (SPH4 2006, p. 36), Cameroon in the First World War (SPH4 2006, p. 44; OLH 2008, p. 50), British and French mandates (SPH4 2006, pp. 48–51; SPH6 2006, p. 69; OLH 2008, p. 55) and the United Republic of Cameroon after the constitution of 1972 (SPH5 2006, p. 71; OLH 2008, p. 128). The maps of Africa are especially used in the forms 1 and 2 and contain for example maps of the Neolithic and Iron age sites in Africa (ITH1 2007, pp. 11 and 25), ancient Egypt (ITH1 2007, p. 31), the spread of Islam in the Western Africa until 18\textsuperscript{th} century (ITH2 2007, p. 2) and the empires of Ghana (300–1240 AD), Mali (13\textsuperscript{th}–15\textsuperscript{th} centuries) and Songhai (13\textsuperscript{th} – 16\textsuperscript{th} centuries) (ITH2 2007, pp. 10, 16 and 21).

\textsuperscript{48} The category “Africa” contains the following presidents of the post-colonial period: Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (OLH 2008, p. 194), Gamal Abdel Naser of Egypt (OLH 2008, p. 211), Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria (OLH 2008, p. 215) and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe (OLH 2008, p. 240). The figures that were placed under the category “Cameroon” are discussed in chapter 6.

\textsuperscript{49} Under the category “world”, the following figures were represented: Martin Luther King (SPH4 2006, p. 3), Chinese philosopher Confucius (ITH1 2007, p. 73), Jesus Christ (ITH1 2007, p. 103), Russian communist leader Vladimir Lenin and his follower Joseph Stalin (OLH 2008, p. 294), USA’s president Franklin Roosevelt (OLH 2008, p. 322) and a group shot of presidents Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Jimmy Carter of USA with the prime minister of Israel, Menachem Begin (OLH 2008, p. 337).
With "charts" is understood broadly all kinds of schema, tables and edited lists, that aim to support understanding the phenomena and for example their interrelations to other phenomena. Historical line segments such as the one titled “evolution of man since 3 000 000 years ago” (ITH1 2007, p. 7) and the one illustrating major events, epochs and empires in Mesopotamia between 3200 and 500 B.C. (ITH1 2007, p. 58) were placed here as well as schema representing power relations, societal or administrative structures such as “the feudal organization in Japan” between 12th and 19th centuries (ITH2 2007, p. 93), organizational structures such as the ones of the African Union and the United Nations (OLH 2008, p. 252 and 357) and charts representing various parties in events such as the table representing the parties of the First World War (SPH5 2006, p. 52) and the parties of the peace treaty of Versailles (SPH6 2006, p. 66).

5.3. Conclusions

The aim of the chapter 5 was to give an overview of the share of the history contents in the analysed textbooks in terms of world history, regional and national history. Every page of the textbooks (comprising altogether 809 pages) was taken into account and categorised into one of these geographical categories. Here, especially the quantitative method was used. The space analysis provided a suitable tool for categorising the content. Also for categorising the illustration, space analysis was used. Every one of the 251 pictures was taken into account and categorised under “world”, “Africa”, “Europe” or “Cameroon” and further sub-categorised in either “culture, customs, monuments”, “maps”, “charts” or “figures”.

Like was summarised in table 4, the majority of the contents concerns the national history (history of Cameroon, 32 %) and the history of Africa (32 %). Europe appears to have a significant role in the construction of historical consciousness in Cameroon, since 15 % of the entire contents discusses the history of Europe. This equals 119 pages, whereas, for example the history of Asia covers only 24 pages and the United States of America 13 pages. Tables 5–7 present a more detailed overview about the themes into which each category (world history, history of Africa and Europe, history of Cameroon) was further divided.
It is striking that in all categories the contemporary or the most recent history is almost totally absent. In the case of world history, for example the cold war and global development issues (refugee problems, human rights, AIDS) cover 4.5 pages and in the history of Europe, the integration process since 1945 has been devoted 9.5 pages. In the case of Africa, the entire post-colonial history is covered with 28 pages (compared with 134 pages of the pre-colonial history). In case of Cameroon, the post-colonial period is covered with 32 pages, compared with the colonial period and the decolonisation process which covers 174 pages. Hence, in the history of Africa, emphasis is on the pre-colonial history, whereas in the national history the emphasis is clearly on the colonial period and the decolonisation.

Whilst the texts emphasize the history of Cameroon and Africa, categorising the illustration into categories of “world”, “Africa”, “Europe” and “Cameroon”, reveals that pictures emphasize Europe and the world. The majority of pictures (69) were categorised under “Europe” and 66 pictures under “world” (see table 8). Table 9a further revealed that the sub-category “culture, customs and monuments” covered the majority of pictures, and was especially prominent in the pictures categorised under “world” (38 pictures), whereas the maps formed the majority of pictures under “Africa” (22 pictures) and the historical figures under the categories “Europe” (27 pictures) and “Cameroon” (25 pictures). It was further noted that the figures have an important role in the construction of the historical consciousness. The Cameroonian and African (of which there were peculiarly not more than 4 in the textbooks) figures represent prominent political persons mainly of the late colonial period or the decolonisation process, whereas the European figures cover a variety of historical periods and societal sectors. Having completed the quantitative analysis of the textbook content’s geographical division, let us now move on to examine the history of Cameroon in more detail.
6. History of Cameroon

In this chapter, my emphasis is on the national history. First, a quantitative overview of the themes covered in the textbooks will be presented, after which the history of Cameroon is approached qualitatively in chapters 6.1 and 6.2. I will use imagology as a qualitative method in examining, how the concepts of the “self” and the “nation” have been constructed in the textbooks – what is the image provided of them. The concepts were chosen in order to draw conclusions about the historical consciousness and the appearance of the nation building in the textbooks. In case of examining the image of the “self”, the following narratives were chosen for a more detailed analysis: 1) the origins of Cameroon and the Cameroonians, 2) the “exterior self” and 3) the relation of the “self” with the Western civilisation. In case of the “nation”, the state-driven discourse of the national unity was used as the basis for the selected narratives: 1) the national unity gained through independence, 2) connections of the national unity to leader figures and centralised governance and 3) Cameroonian presidents as creators of the national unity.

First, it must be noted, that the entire concept of “Cameroon” and hence, also of the “Cameroonians” is vague. The Europeans had for centuries no access to inland of Cameroon due to coastal tribes, who acted as middlemen and had a monopoly over the trade with Europeans. In July 1884, “Cameroon” referred only to a coastal strip “between the rivers Bimbia in the North and Quaqua in the South, and the area that reaches to 4° 10’ latitude in the inland”, as stated in the Germano-Duala –Treaty, through which a coastal area around Douala fell under German rule. (N’dumbe III 2009, pp. 15 and 164–165). In my study, “Cameroon” refers roughly to the area known today or what has been understood as Cameroon during each historical period. Respectively, the term “Cameroonians” refers roughly to all the people who live or have lived in the area. I will refer to “French Cameroon” or “British Cameroon” respectively, when the period 1916–1961 is being discussed. I have used the “mandate” or “trust territory” only when it is of importance. After independence, I have used “Francophone” or “Anglophone Cameroon” in those cases where territorial specifications are needed.

The history of Cameroon is handled in the textbooks 4–6 of the Senior Primary History and in the section A of the Ordinary Level History, thus in classes 4–6 of the primary
school and form 3 in the lower secondary school. As table 1 illustrates, in every class, where the history of Cameroon is discussed, it forms the majority of the textbook content. In the 4th class this represents 68% of the textbook content with only world history accompanying it (32%). In the 5th class the share is 67% and 36% in the 6th class, where also all the other categories (world history, history of Africa, history of Europe) are examined. In form 3, the pupils learn nothing but the history of Cameroon. All in all, the history of Cameroon covers 32% (260.75 pages) of the entire history syllabus (see table 4). Similarly to the history of Africa, I have considered it reasonable to divide the content into the pre-colonial history, the period of colonialism and the decolonisation process and the post-colonial history. Table 10 gives an overall presentation of this division.

Table 10: The thematic division of the contents of the “History of Cameroon” in number of pages (and as percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Textbook title</th>
<th>Primary education</th>
<th>Lower secondary education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SPH4 Class 4</td>
<td>SPH5 Class 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified: eg. migration in Cameroon, people of Cameroon, religions in Cameroon</td>
<td>6.5 (18%)</td>
<td>10 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone age Cameroon</td>
<td>0.5 (1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sao (900–1500 AD)</td>
<td>2 (4%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamum Kingdom</td>
<td>3 (8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival of Europeans, explorations</td>
<td>7 (20%)</td>
<td>7 (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavery</td>
<td>3 (6%)</td>
<td>0.5 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-colonial Cameroon (-1884), in total</td>
<td>10 (28%)</td>
<td>12.5 (24%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon under German rule (1884–1916)</td>
<td>8 (23%)</td>
<td>6 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon and the First World War</td>
<td>5 (14%)</td>
<td>1.5 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon and the Second World War</td>
<td>3.25 (6%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon under British rule (1916-1961)</td>
<td>3 (8%)</td>
<td>4 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon under French rule (1916-1960)</td>
<td>3 (8%)</td>
<td>4 (8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A few striking observations can be made from table 10. Only 14 % of the entire history syllabus is devoted to the history of Cameroon before the colonial period – that is before the German annexation in 1884. When the Neolithic era is handled, the Cameroonian settlement – existing for more than 50 000 years (DeLancey 2010, p. 3) – is hardly mentioned. Pre-colonial kingdoms such as the Sao people and the Bamum Kingdom are discussed only in the primary classes.\(^50\)

The history of the colonial period (1884–1960) clearly dominates, with a coverage of 67 % of the entire syllabus of the national history, whereas the postcolonial period covers only 12 %. Surprisingly little attention is given to the most recent history of Cameroon under Paul Biya’s presidency since 1982 (5 %). With such figures, it seems obvious that Europe and in particular the previous colonial powers still have a big influence on the historical consciousness of Cameroonians. A more detailed schema of the themes discussed in the textbooks regarding the history of Cameroon is given in appendices 3a–3d. Certain themes appear to be learned repeatedly in every class. In appendices 3a–3d these are categorised under the following titles: “Europeans in Cameroon”, “Cameroon under German rule (1884–1916)”, “The first World War in Cameroon (1914–1916)” and “The British and

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\(^{50}\) The civilisation of the Sao flourished in the south of Lake Chad, near the Chari River for a thousand years, between 500 and 1500 AD. The Bamum dynasty was founded around 16\(^{\text{th}}\) century in the northwest Cameroon. The ethnic group of Bamum still has an extensive culture today, mostly due to Sultan Njoya who ruled between 1876 and 1933. Njoya invented a written form of the Bamum language (Shu Mom), established schools for learning the language, compiled the history of the Bamum people, establish a museum for preservation of the art and drew maps of the area. Because Njoya accepted the rule of the Germans, he was not favoured later by the French, and finally died in exile 1933 in Yaoundé. According to DeLancey, the multiple achievements of Njoya are still not fully granted the historic recognition by the post-colonial authorities. (DeLancey 1990, pp. 38–39, 151–152 and 179).
French mandates in Cameroon (1916–1939)”. Hence, the pupils get to read again and again, how Cameroon received its name, how the Germans administered Cameroon, how the First World War was fought in Cameroon and how the territory was handed over to France and Britain as mandates of the League of Nations. All the textbooks extend their studies to the post-colonial period except the Senior Primary History, Class 4, which extends the examined history only to the period preceding the Second World War (1939).

The textbooks Senior Primary History, Classes 5 and 6 and the first part (Section A) of the Ordinary Level History continue to repeat the same themes and events. They narrate, how the Second World War was fought in Cameroon, how the British and French continued to administer Cameroon after the submission by the United Nations as mandates, how the French Cameroon first voted for its independence in 1960, and a year later the British Southern Cameroon joined it while the British Northern Cameroon voted for integrating to Nigeria. The textbooks construct a history, where Cameroon is formed into a unified state under the centralized and very capable administration of the first president, the “architecture of the national unity” (Abé 2006, p. 34), Ahmadou Ahidjo and his follower since 1982, Paul Biya. This will be discussed in more detail in the chapter 6.2. Before going there, I will first focus on the image presented of the “self” in the textbooks.

6.1. Conceptualizing the “self”

In order to approach the question on how the history textbooks represent and confirm national identity, and what kind of national identity is being promoted, I consider that it is essential to examine, what is the image of “the self” in the textbooks. In the following, I will study the history of Cameroon and the Cameroonian as described in the textbooks through the following three approaches. At first, I believe it is essential to track the origins of the country and its people. Since all the textbooks narrate a history about Cameroon as a European invention or discovery, it was easy to end up choosing this as the first narrative examined. Secondly, due to the quantitative predominance of the colonial history of Cameroon, I decided to focus on questions about the terminology when referring to Cameroonian in the period of colonial history. In the many expressions such as the “natives” or the “indigenes”, the subjects “I” and “we” can be interpreted as being reduced to something more of an object instead of an active, emancipated and sovereign subject. The substance and essentials for this “externalised I”, which I will later refer to as the
“external self”, has been formed from the outside and filtered through the European lenses. Thirdly, as an admiration towards progress and development can be read throughout the textbooks – not only in the texts concerning the history of Cameroon – I decided to focus on the discourse of the “Western civilisation”.

6.1.1. Cameroon as a European creation

In the textbooks, the very birth of Cameroon as a state seems to root back to contacts with Europeans in the pre-colonial period. With chapters such as “The arrival of Europeans in Cameroon” (SPH4 2006, pp. 22–24), “Europeans at the coast of Cameroon” (SPH5 2006, pp. 17–19) and “Cameroon–European contacts 15th–20th century” (OLH 2008, pp. 3–9), the textbooks narrate a discourse of discovery and exploration, where Cameroon as an object of explorations was to “be found”. The Carthaginians – “people from a country we call Tunisia today in Africa” led by a man called Hanno” (SPH5 2006, p. 17) were the “earliest people known” to have explored the coast of Cameroon in the 5th century (SPH4 2006, p. 22; OLH 2008, p. 17). Although ancient Carthage was situated in the North Africa, the narrative in the textbooks is lumped together with Europe.

Almost thousand years of the history of Cameroon is ignored as the textbooks are moving on to telling, how Cameroon derived its name first from the Portuguese, then from the Spanish and other European explorers:

In 1472, a man from Portugal (a Portuguese) called Fernando Po landed with his boat at the mouth of the Wouri River. [--] There he saw much crayfish called prawns in English. In [--] Portuguese, they are called Cameroes. Fernando Po later called the Wouri River “Rio dos Cameroes” (River of Prawns). Cameroon got its name from this word “Cameroes”. (SPH4 2006, p. 22).

In 1850, the Spaniards arrived the Coast of Cameroon [--]. They also called the River Wouri Rio dos Cameroes, but preferred to call the land near the river “Camerones”. [--] Other Europeans copied how to call Cameroon. The Germans called it Kamerun and the French, Cameroun. The British called it Cameroons. (SPH5 2006, p. 19)

The Ordinary Level History further clarifies that “all these appellations from Camaroes to Cameroons were referring to the Douala region” (OLH 2008, p. 6). Almost all multiple
choice questions in the *Senior Primary History, Class 5* concerning the chapter “Europeans at the coast of Cameroon” are devoted to the naming of Cameroon: “How did the Portuguese call the land near the River Wouri after they discovered prawns in it?”, “How did the Spaniards call Cameroon after visiting the coast of Cameroon in 1850?” and so on (SPH5 2006, p. 19). Hence, Cameroon is represented as a *de facto* European invention.

European explorations in Cameroon in the 19th century are given fairly broad attention in the textbooks. Exploration is defined as “an act of travelling into strange lands to discover or find out about new things” (SPH4 2006, p. 30; SPH5 2006, p. 20). A list of reasons for Europeans to explore Africa and the interior of Cameroon is given: for example, the will to study the animals, plants and the people of Africa, to “know the sources of African rivers such as the Niger and the Nile”, “to know if there were riches in the continent”, to open trade routes, to end the slave trade, to spread Christianity and to open schools “where they could teach Cameroonians to speak and write their language for easy communication” (SPH4 2006, pp. 30–31; SPH5 2006, p. 20; SPH6 2006, p. 47; OLH2008, p. 4). As expressed in the textbooks, Africa was after all known by the Europeans “[–] as the ‘Dark continent’. This was because little was known about Africa at that time” (SPH5 2006, p. 20; SPH6 2006, p. 47). No reflection about the concept “dark continent” and its relevance or meaning to Africa is taking place, thereby possibly leaving pupils with an understanding that the concept must have been accurate in the historical context.

The *Senior Primary History 4* even lists reasons for the Europeans to have started exploring the interior of Cameroon “only in the 19th century” and not before (SPH4 2006, p. 30). This leaves an impression, that European explorations were in fact a matter of destiny, predestined to take place sooner or later. Further, the consequences of the explorations in Cameroon are listed:

1) The interior parts of Cameroon were linked to the coast, 2) The different tribes of Cameroon were known, 3) Cameroonians started wearing clothes and shoes, 4) Most Cameroonians turned away from worshipping false gods (eg. stones, rivers, hills...), 5) The belief in one God made strong by missionaries who spread their religion, 6) Other religions were spread in Cameroon (eg. Catholic, Baptist, Presbyterian and Islamic religions). Churches and mosques were built, 7) Cameroonians stopped sacrificing human beings. This way, human lives were saved, 8) Trade flourished in Cameroon; palm oil, tobacco,
palm kernels and elephant tusks were exchanged for salt, clothes, hot drinks, arms and ammunitions, 9) Slavery and slave trade were reduced, 10) Cameroon was colonised. The Germans were the first Europeans to take over Cameroon in 1884. The English and the French followed suit, 11) Schools were opened for the teaching of children and adults, 12) Plantations were opened in the coast where economic crops like oil palm, rubber, bananas, cocoa and coffee were grown, 13) Forced labour was introduced. Cameroonians were recruited to work in the plantations, 14) Other forms of transportation were introduced (eg. the steam boat on rivers, the railways on land). (SPH 4 2006, p. 33).

The extract contains rather positive connotations such as introducing the habit of “wearing clothes and shoes”, turning away from “worshipping false gods”, stopping human sacrifices, through which “human lives were saved”, “Slavery and slave trade were reduced”, “schools were opened” and even the trade “flourished”. With so many positive connotations, also the more neutral consequences on the list could easily be discussed in the same positive tone. For example, linking different parts of Cameroon with each other and the introduction of “other forms of transportation” can be understood as progress and development. Since religions – Christianity in particular – are discussed with respect throughout the textbooks, one could also interpret that building “churches and mosques” and strengthening the “belief in one God” are inherently good things. In fact, only the minor references to colonisation (a definition, which on the other hand is not given any explanation or definition in the text) and forced labor tell a story of an external oppression.

The textbooks offer very little analysis or reflections with a local perspective on the explorations in Cameroon or generally in Africa. One could fairly have questioned the accuracy of the entire terminology. For example, how such a region can be “found”, “discovered” or “explored” in the first place, which has been settled for thousands of years. One could have questioned, whose purposes and interests does such terminology serve and hence, through whose eyes has the narrative been constructed. The Ordinary Level History though states that

Before the arrival of Europeans, the territory and peoples that make up present-day Cameroon actually existed though without a well-defined boundary, map or modern national government. The territory was not known
as Cameroon. [--] It is worth mentioning here that in those days the peoples of Cameroon who lived in separate communities had well-organised political, economic and social systems. African historians believe that the African continent to which Cameroon belongs had a well organised socio-economic and political set-up that would have led to much prosperity today if not of the damage caused by European colonialism. In fact, the naming of the territory called Cameroon and the establishment of a geopolitical entity and present territorial boundaries and government was a European creation. [--] Before the Europeans landed on Cameroon soil, Cameroonians had well-organised political set-ups, a flourishing economy and well-developed social systems. (OLH 2008, p. 1).

Thereby, the narrative of the existence of Cameroon through European influence, is directly criticized, but no further analysis has been provided. It would have been important to illustrate, what were those “well-organised political, economic and social systems” of Cameroonians or more generally of the African people before colonialism and what were the consequences of colonialism for indigenous societies. With such an introduction, one could expect the Ordinary Level History to offer critical debate and analysis about colonialism and its impacts to the development of many societies in Africa still today. This criticism and analytic approach, however is mostly lacking – similarly to the primary school textbooks.

6.1.2. The “exterior self”

Similarly to representing the birth of the state of Cameroon as a European intervention, also the people, the Cameroonians are perceived as something defined from the outside. Expressions such as the “natives”, the “native people”, the “native groups”, the “native chiefs”, the “indigenous”, the “indigenous groups”, the “tribes”, the “tribal groups”, the “tribal chiefs”, “traditional rulers” and even the “local groups” or the “local chiefs” are commonly used in describing the Cameroonians during the colonial period and especially during the German protectorate period (SPH4 2006, 30–41; SPH5 2006, pp. 46–50; SPH6 2006, pp. 54–64; OLH 2008 pp. 10–48). Here, we are dealing with the terminology created by the colonial masters. According to Cosmas Cheka, “traditional” was used by Europeans to contrast the patterns of life and models of governance with the modern powers that they
represented. Further, “chiefs” instead of “kings” was used to reduce the status of great African Kings. (Cheka 2008, p. 72). Therefore, the extensive use of the terminology (created by the conquerors) without any reflection on its origins, leaves no room for questioning its accuracy.

To illustrate the sense of exteriority, I will now examine some of the features of the colonial period in the textbooks. I believe it is of relevance to examine, how the textbook narratives position themselves when discussing the oppressive period of history, which also has the biggest share of the textbook content on the national history (67 %, see table 8). A special focus is on the period of Cameroon as a German protectorate between 1884 and 1916, which has been given more emphasis in the textbooks as compared with the mandate and trusteeship period of the British and the French administration. Table 8 illustrates, that the period of the German protectorate covers 23 % of the entire contents discussing the history of Cameroon, whereas the British administration in Cameroon (1916–1961) has been devoted 14 % and the French administration (1916–1960) 15 % respectively. The emphasis on the German period becomes even more clear if we take into account that the protectorate forms in fact a shorter epoch of history (32 years) compared with the French and British presence in Cameroon (45–46 years)51.

The narrative of the German period consists mainly of German explorations to the interior of Cameroon, resistance of the local chiefs, and the description of the German Empire’s administration in Cameroon. I will take all these into account in the following. One might expect the narrative to be highly moralising, perhaps even polarising towards the previous colonial rulers. Yet, all the textbooks have a surprisingly positive tone towards German presence in Cameroon. At first, this can be seen in the narrative about the German explorers in Cameroon before the actual annexation in 1884. In the textbooks, a prominent role is given to Eugene Zintgraff as “the first explorer with a good plan to travel into the interior and acquire lands for Germany” (OLH 2008, p. 21). The Senior Primary History, Class 6 has devoted as many as 4 pages to Zintgraff’s “expeditions in Cameroon” (SPH6

51 The period of Cameroon as German protectorate took place between July 1884 when the Germano-Duala Treaty was signed and 1916 when Germany was defeated in the Cameroonian territory by United Kingdom and France during the First World War. In 1922, the League of Nations officially declared the territory to be administered by the United Kingdom and France. In 1946, the mandates were replaced by the United Nations’ territory system, where Cameroon was further administered by UK and France. Hence, the French colonial rule in Cameroon lasted between March 1916 and October 1960, the British administration lasted until the reunification, which was officially declared in October 1961. Thus, the French and British presence in Cameroon lasted around 45 years.
The fact that he was authorized by the German government to establish military and civilian stations in Cameroon, thereby helping the government to establish the German administration in the area, has not been discussed in the textbooks.

Also the *Senior Primary History, Class 4* praises Zintgraff as “the most famous German explorer in Cameroon”, who “opened trade routes” and “made friends with chiefs of the interior of Cameroon”. Such friends were for example the Balis, who helped Zintgraff to “fight against tribes that did not want German rule.” (SPH6 2006, p. 61). This brutal German practice of encouraging native people to form alliances against each other, is examined with neutrality or even acceptance. Further, through expeditions Zintgraff is even said to have aimed at maintaining “peace and order”. (Ibid). The promotion of peace is in fact seen as a broader objective of the explorers, as stated in the chapter titled “Achievements of the early German explorers in Cameroon”:

*Some of them [explorers] were soldiers. Who made use of their military skills to contain hostile people. In this way, they brought peace and harmony among Cameroonians. [---] Projects of development were carried out by the Germans in the interior of Cameroon after the native resistance was defeated. Since there was peace, roads and railways were built. Schools and health centers were also opened.* (SPH6 2006, pp. 61–62).

Although the explorers are mainly discussed with positive connotations, the native resistances against the German administration form an essential discourse in the textbooks. As illustrated in the table 10, the history of Cameroon as a German protectorate covers 61 pages in total. Almost a quarter of this (23%), 14 pages is devoted to resistances. In the 4th class, this covers as much as 50% of the content handling the period of Cameroon as German protectorate (4 pages of the total 8 pages). The tables shown in the annexes 3a–3d further illustrate, that the resistances are discussed in all textbooks. I believe this can be interpreted as an aim to construct an image of an active and resistant “self”, who has a say to his own destiny. However, the discourse of the "exterior self" is further repeated as the natives’ role is, without any reflection, reduced to that of accepting the foreign rule, adjusting to it, allying with it or standing against it. The textbooks do not analyse, what – if

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32 The explorers and traders were often used by the colonial regimes for establishing contacts with the local chiefs, thereby laying ground for the possible military annexation. According to Albert Gouaffo, also Zintgraff was authorized by the German government with aims to establish military and civilian stations and hence, the administration in the area. (Gouaffo 2007, pp. 56–61)
any – other options for surviving as sovereign actors the natives would have had against the European influence.

Also in the narratives about the actual warfare, the narration seems to be positioned on the side of the German perspective. For example, in the Senior Primary History, Class 4 it is told that Zintgraff “lost many of his men in these wars” against “people like the Bafut and the Mankon”. (SPH4 2006, p. 41). The Senior Primary History, Class 6 further clarifies that “On January 31, 1891, Zintgraff, his men and 5000 Bali warriors attacked Mankon by night. Mankon lost 600 people; Bali lost 180 people and the Germans four (Lt Von Spangenberg, Huive, Wehber and Teidt).” (SPH6 2006, pp. 61). No analysis is provided about questions such as why other people decided to support the invaders or would they have had other options for survival at that time. Whereas the four German casualties in the “Mankon war” are remembered by mentioning them by name, hundreds of dead Balis and Mankons remain to be remembered through a mere rough number. In fact, this is the only extract in the textbooks, with a reference to an exact number of native victims caused by the Germans. “Many natives were killed”, or the natives “were defeated [by the Germans]” are common expressions (SPH4 2006, p. 35; SPH6 2006, pp. 57–58), whereas the fallen Germans are mostly mentioned by name53. Again it seems as if the narrator would have decided to take the stand of the Germans – it was the Germans who lost men fighting against the natives (and not the other way round).

Further, the brutality of the Germans is not discussed in the textbooks. All German expeditions between 1886 and 1898 were carried out with military force. The “Schutztruppen”, the colonial army of the German Empire was used with soldiers first recruited from abroad such as the Togoland, but later through forced recruitments from Cameroon (N’dumbe III 2008, pp. 96–100; Schulte-Varendorff 2011, p. 13). Highly brutal strategies were used, but the textbooks remain completely silent on these practices. For example, in the war against the Anyang (1904–1906), the Germans poisoned the crops and burnt down entire villages. As the Anyang chiefs surrendered themselves and offered

elephant tusks and bails of rubber as a symbol of their defeat, they were all executed by the Germans. (Ebi Ebai 2005, p. 68).

Textbooks also show no consistency in terms of which resistances have been mentioned or discussed, which leaves an impression, that there were perhaps a multiple number of resistances with maybe thousands of native victims. Altogether there are 14 individual resistances mentioned in the textbooks, mainly against the German rule, but the Ordinary Level History does discuss also the Douala and Baya resistances of the 1920’s against the French rule. According to Uwe Schulte-Varendorff, the colonial officers’ reports list in fact more than 100 German military campaigns in Cameroon between 1891 and 1909, as the German Empire aimed to strengthen its influence and grip in the inland of Cameroon (Schulte-Varendorff 2011, p. 16). According to Monika Midel, virtually all African societies resisted the European invaders and the loss of their self-rule. Like everywhere in Africa, also in Cameroon many resistances proved to have successful strategies, despite the technical superiority of invaders. These narratives have remained without sufficient notice in the textbooks. Midel reminds that the history has been largely based on European colonial officers, who in their reports aimed to legitimize their actions and to please the German audience. In such reports, German explorers and colonial officers were represented as the founders of Cameroon. (Midel 1990, pp. 19–20 and 161–165; see also Yenshu Vubo 2003, p. 603).

I see the discourse of the “exterior self” extending also to the territory of Cameroon. For example, the First World War as it was fought in Cameroon, is strategically emphasised with chapters discussing why and how the war was fought in Cameroon, “Why the Germans resisted the Allies for long” and “Reasons why the Allies finally defeated the Germans” (OLH 2008, pp. 51–52). A number of generals, commanders and lieutenants of the European warfaring parties are named when “important battles” were fought at a

number of locations in Cameroon. For example in the Senior Primary History, Class 5 it is stated that

[---] From French Congo, forces commanded by Lieutenant Hutin used the two rivers Sangha and Congo to attack German Cameroon from the south east. Important battles of the war were fought at Nsanakang, Garoua, Douala and Mora. British forces were under the command of General Charles Dobell while French soldiers were commanded by General Joseph Aymerich. Other important commanders were Major Carter and Colonel Cunliffe for the British, and Lieutenant Brissot and Captain Largeau for the French. (SPH5 2006, p. 53).

Hence, the territory is reduced to a plain setting for a strategic board game of the European forces.

The Ordinary Level History provides a short section about “The participation of the people of Cameroon in the war” (OLH 2008, p. 51) but the touch base on the experiences of Cameroonians is left thin: “The various tribal groups [---] found themselves fighting either for the Germans or for the Allies. [---] [They fought by] carrying or transporting war supplies like food and ammunition for the troops. Fighting as soldiers on either side [---].” (Ibid). The tragedy of the “ugly war”55 – the numerous war crimes committed by both warfaring parties, the Germans and the Allies, remains without any reflections in the textbooks. No reflection is provided about the mistreatment of Cameroonian civilians, soldiers or prisoners of war. It is merely stated that “Many lives were lost – about 6000 soldiers and 10 000 civilians” without any further references to the fates of the Cameroonians (SPH5 2006, p. 53; SPH6 2006, p. 66). The Ordinary Level History is even

55 A definition used by Uwe Schulte-Varendorff, according to whom the Europeans had racist understanding of the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 – first international treaties stating the laws of war and war crimes. Namely, they were seen as applying only to the war fought against or between “the white”. Eyewitness statements point to forced labor of especially women and children, human shields of the civilians and arbitrary killing of the villagers, who had been supportive of either side of the war party. It became a normal practice, in the official war reports to remain silent about such courses of event. Commonly, no war crimes committed against the native populations in the colonial territories were handled in the military court. There are no statistics or even rough estimations available in Cameroon about the civilian victims of war, but Schulte-Varendorff speaks of at least tens of thousands, as compared with the German East Africa (area comprising today Rwanda, Burundi and the mainland of Tanzania), where round 700 000 civilians lost their lives according to military reports. The German terror against the tribes who were suspected of allying with the Allied forces, was broad and brutal. Entire villages of at least the Duala, Batanga, Wuri, Balong, Jabassi, Malimba and the Mabea people were burnt. Further, there is evidence of displacement of thousands of Batanga people by the British, as they needed labor for plantations in the newly conquered areas. In the propaganda of the Allies, such actions were described as rescue operations, which saved the villagers from hunger and starvation. According to eyewitnesses, many of the displaced fell victim of hunger and physical strain in the plantations. (Schulte-Varendorff 2011, pp. 45–50 and 55–71).
shorter: “Some natives who fought as soldiers and porters lost their lives.” (OLH 2008, p. 52). According to Uwe Schulte-Varendorff, the native people were in fact in an extremely vulnerable situation. They were persecuted from both sides of the fronts, and the deteriorating food supply drove many ethnic groups also to confrontations against each other. The fact that the First World War is not discussed with critical reflection in the textbooks, is not surprising, considering that only in the 21st century, researchers have paid more attention to the World Wars in colonial territories, as seen through the eyes of the local people. (Schulte-Varendorff 2011, p. 162). This academic trend is yet to be extended into the narrations of the Cameroonian history textbooks.

6.1.3. Identification with Western civilisation – discourse of development

“Western civilisation” is very much admired in the textbooks. It is directly associated with trade, development and progress. Without giving any explicit definition of the concept, the Introduction to History, Book 1 binds the concept with the entire purpose of learning history. In the first chapter titled “Meaning and contents of history” it is stated that “The present Western civilisation is in many respect an improvement on the discoveries and inventions of the past. [...] We can always live better than our ancestors, if we learn their history and improve on their achievements.” (ITH1 2007, p. 1). On the other hand, the concept “civilisation” has been given a definition:

“It means an improvement in man’s way of life. It is progress from a lower or inferior stage or quality of life to a higher stage or better quality of life. To be civilised also means to be enlightened. It means to be educated so as to live better than one’s forefathers. Man has continuously throughout history, made great efforts to live better than his forefathers in almost all places where he has lived but these efforts have been more successful in some areas than in others.” (ITH 1 2007, p. 13).

Civilisation seems to be understood as an automatic process of development towards better quality of life, enlightenment and education.

When ancient Greece is discussed, the significance of Europe comes along in the concept of ”Western civilisation”. The Introduction to History, Book 1 for example states, that “The Greek Peninsula became the cradle of Western civilization which dominated the world from 600 BC to 300 BC.” (ITH1 2007, p. 81). Europe and the Europeans are in fact
seen as a standard of development, an entity or a unified civilization, against which the other civilizations and their level of development can be measured and benchmarked. This is a classical example of Eurocentric approach to history (Bentley 2002, p. 397). For example, when the history of the American Indians is discussed in the Introduction to History, Book 2, it is stated that “By the time the Europeans arrived, a majority of these groups [Indians] were still backward” (ITH2 2007, p. 96). Again, as the impact of Islam on Africa between 8th and 16th centuries is examined, the “African Islamic civilization” is said to have been “more advanced in many aspects than the European civilization” (ITH2 2007, p. 6).

The Introduction to History, Book 2 continues to narrate the history of Europe as a history of progress and development, when it examines “Western Europe (1500 AD–1800 AD)” (ITH2 2007, pp. 99–108): “This period is called modern times in European history. The modern times began with the brilliant movement called the Renaissance [--]. It also helped set in motion the stages of many discoveries, new ideas and new developments which affected other people and races of the world during this period. [--]”. (ITH1 2007, p. 99). Multiple, parallel revolutions are discussed (commercial, scientific, agrarian, industrial), and they are all described with admiration such as “It was the development of new technology and improved methods of research by scientists during this period that led to an explosion in knowledge that became known as the scientific revolution.” (ITH2 2007, p. 102).

Some implicit criticism about the influence of Europe to other parts of the world can be read in the case of the “commercial revolution”: “The age of exploration and growth of commerce changed the way Europeans saw the world. The great wealth acquired by the European nobles, merchants and bankers made them to think that their way of life was superior to the civilisations they were encountering in Asia, Africa and Americas. They believed that the world was meant to be explored, conquered and civilized by them. [--] The growing economic strength of the European rulers as a result of the commercial revolution had far-reaching impact on world politics. Colonialism and imperialism are by-products of this commercial revolution.” (ITH2 2007, p. 101).
But here too, the sharpest tip of the criticism is cut, as the textbook concludes its very final chapter by defining the concept of imperialism as follows: “Imperialism refers to the political or economic control of a backward territory by an advanced nation” (ITH2 2007, p. 116). Thus, without further analysing or reflecting the concepts or even the idea of “progress” or “development”, the pupils are left with an impression that it is acceptable, normal and even desirable to view the world by dividing its regions and people into categories, where others are more “advanced” than others. Paradoxically, one can even see the seeds of racist claims here, and this is reflected also in the following extracts discussing the different ethnic groups in Cameroon.

Christianity and Islam are implicitly given associations of progress. For example, Senior Primary History, Class 4 states that animism “is a religion that many people who are educated do not believe in today” (SPH4 2006, p. 26). The Senior Primary History, Class 5 gives a further reason for this: “Since Animism does not have a religious book like the Bible or the Koran, many people who can read and write are becoming Christians or Muslims” (SPH5 2006, p. 40). When examining the ethnic groups and the tribes of Cameroon, the Senior Primary History, Class 5 mentions that the Bantu “[---] did not develop a very rich civilisation like other groups [The Sudanese, The Fulbe and The Semi-Bantu]. [---] Most Bantus either practice Christianity or African traditional religion. They were the first to be opened to the outside world and most of their civilisation is influenced by ideas from outside. It is only the Pygmies that have welcomed very little influence from outside and remain primitive.” (SPH5 2006, 4–5).

It seems that being open to the “influence from outside” is inherently seen as the starting point for development and progress. It is stigmatizing to define some societies as “primitive” without full consciousness about the relativity of the concept “primitive” itself. Like elsewhere in the textbooks, also here one would expect to see more critical reflection about the flip side of a certain phenomenon. In this case, some analysis about the survival of indigenous cultures and the need to preserve linguistic diversity and the diversity of the intangible cultural heritage – globally or locally – could well have taken place.

Education in Cameroon – as introduced by the colonial powers – is without questioning seen as a sign of progress. In almost all textbooks discussing the national history, it seems to be important for the pupils to remember, that “Theodore Christaller, the first German
teacher” arrived Cameroon in 1887” (SPH5 2006, p. 48; SPH6 2006, p. 64; OLH 2008, p. 40). The statement “Through education, Cameroonians were exposed to Western civilization, which widened their thinking” (OLH 2008, p. 40), leaves no room for critical reflections concerning the Western schooling and “Western civilization”. The “Cameroonians who excelled in education” are also told to have been sent to Germany for further education. As a result, “German became the social language among educated Cameroonians” (OLH 2008, pp. 40–41). According to Jörn Rüsen, the distinction between civilization and barbarism provides a classical example of an ethnocentric concept of historical identity. The Western “us” forms the civilized standard against which the uncivilized “other” is evaluated. (Rüsen 2007, p. 230). The textbooks mention nothing about the acculturation process through schooling, where the natives learned to respect the colonial rulers and their superior culture. Like other colonial regimes, also the German Empire was eager to hide its true agenda of economic exploitation into the noble civilizing mission. (N’dumbe III 2008, p. 129).

Quite the opposite, in the Introduction to History, Book 1, in a chapter titled “Ancient civilisations”, the pupils are taught that “Even though warfare sometimes destroyed elements of a civilisation, it also helped spread ideas. When a highly civilised people conquered a region, the conquered people often absorbed ideas from the conquerors”. (ITH1 2007, p. 19). Considering that such is taught in a country with a colonial history of its own, without any analytical reflection following, the extract can be seen to entail an implicit approval of violent colonialism with all its racist dimensions. In the name of the “common good of humanity”, hence development, it seems to be justified to violently conquer territories and oppress civilisations that are supposedly inferior to the conquerors. The “spreading of ideas” in the extract even refers to the cultural colonialism, which has its implications until today in virtually all decolonised countries and parts of the world.

In the textbooks, the discourse of progress and development brought by the colonial rulers in Cameroon is repeated with surprising intensity in the chapters discussing Cameroon as a German protectorate between 1884 and 1916. All the textbooks list the “achievements of the Germans in Cameroon”, thereby presenting the German presence in a positive light and even as a necessity in sectors such as “education, agriculture, communication, architecture, trade and industry” (SPH5 2006, p. 48). In the field of agriculture for example, the Germans are described as being the “most successful” and as one of the 14 positive
impacts listed, Cameroon is said to “still benefit” from the plantations [established by the Germans] as an “important producer of [...] cocoa, coffee, banana and palm products, which brings in a lot of revenue” (OLH 2008, p. 34–35; also SPH6 2006, p. 64). To what extent Cameroon or the Cameroonians were in the past or still are today to enjoy the revenue of exporting agricultural products, is not further analysed. It is worth noting, that this discourse of technical progress reaffirms the glorified memory on the German colonial period still broadly present in the 21st century German media. (Michels 2003, p. 53).

In the same extract presented above, only three negative impacts are raised – in fact heavy issues with far too little attention: “plantations led to enslaved labour”, “native land was expropriated” and “high death rate in the plantations so that each estate owned a cemetery” (OLH 2008, p. 34–35). According to Wilson Ebi Ebai, it is widely documented, that also the German Empire commonly used forced labor in the plantations and in the construction of infrastructure such as roads and railways (Ebi Ebai 2005, pp. 63–64). In the textbooks, the use of forced labour is mentioned as a mere marginal note and there is no reflection about the quantity and societal impacts of the phenomenon. On the contrary – the increased employment through the Germans is praised (OLH 2008, p. 36). There is no questioning on whether the unemployment as such ever was a problem in the indigenous societies before the arrival of Europeans with their societal norms, institutions and ultimately the way of living.

Even the German administration is represented as inherently good and necessary. It “encouraged economic development” and “was an agent of social development”, as stated in the Ordinary Level History, according to which the governor was “the supreme leader [...]. He issued and ruled by decree; was the highest court and was at the head of the military. He controlled state property and appointed officials, giving them powers to represent him in some parts of the country”. The role of traditional rulers was reduced to “collecting taxes, presiding over lower courts and imposing fines”. However, the impression is given, that good relations with the Germans paid off, as the chiefs Fon Galega I of Bali and Sultan Njoya of Bamum are said to be “prominent in the politics of Cameroon” today. (OLH 2008, p. 26–27). Here, the textbooks entirely ignore the fact that as is common in former colonial states, also in Cameroon the foundation of today’s corruption was laid in the era of colonialism. The colonial rulers sought ways to gain trust among the local chiefs and thereby to solidify their own presence and administration in the area. The chiefs were
given privileges such as to collect taxes with the right to retain a share for themselves. All colonial rulers used the chiefs also to mobilise labour for plantations or infrastructure construction sites in Cameroon. In areas where no powerful chieftaincies were at hand to be used as intermediaries for solidifying the administration, such chieftaincies were simply created. This created foundations for ethnic divisions and tensions of today’s Cameroon. (Geschiere 1993, pp. 151–152).

The German governors are carefully listed in the Senior Primary History. Class 656, and in the Ordinary Level History their achievements are examined in more detail. Von Soden is said to have “helped greatly in the development of Cameroon”, Von Zimmerer to have expanded plantations, “thus providing jobs for Cameroonians”, to have offered “trading opportunities” to Cameroonians “by opening up large parts of the interior to German rule”, and to have continued fighting diseases like malaria. Von Puttkamer’s rule is though stated to have been “too harsh” – he intensified the use of forced labour, but still he too is seen to have achievements, such as constructing “the present day’s prime minister’s lodge in Buea”. Theodore Seitz again “was very kind and had sympathy for Cameroonians” and Otto Gleim “developed Douala into a modern city”. The last serving governor, Karl Ebermaier displaced hundreds of Duala members and caused the killing of the “prominent traditional rulers” Rudolf Duala Manga Bell and Martin Paul Samba. Yet, he too is praised as having “contributed to the development of Cameroon”, for example by “constructing a 360 km railway line from Douala to Widemenge”, and as a result of road building, “the first motorcar was driven from Kribi to Yaounde”. (OLH 2008, pp. 28–30).

In the light of the above, one can conclude that former colonial rulers and the thinking implanted by them during the colonial period still have a role in the historical consciousness of Cameroon today. In the textbooks, the formation of Cameroon as a state – indeed the entire existence of the country – is seen to be bound with the European explorers, who “invented” or “created” Cameroon. The colonial past and Eurocentric approach to history can further be seen in the externalisation of the “self”. Without critically reflecting on the accuracy of the terminology, the textbooks constantly use terms such as the “natives” or “indigenes” when referring to Cameroonians in the pre-colonial and colonial period. On the other hand, the colonial rulers, especially Germany, are

examined with surprising benevolence. A discourse of “Western civilisation” with inherently positive connotations of progress, development and enlightenment can be found in the textbooks. In fact, one can even find indications of the implicit approval of colonialism. In the case of ancient civilisations, even violent conquests were seen as justified if carried out by “highly civilised” people, who in turn “spread ideas”, hence progress and development in the conquered region (ITH1 2007, p. 19).

6.2. Conceptualizing the “nation”

In this chapter, I will focus on the decolonisation process which – similarly to other African states – can be regarded as a historical mile stone and a starting point to the formation of the postcolonial national identity in Cameroon (Eckert 2000, p. 171). In order to examine the nation building process, I have focused on concepts “nation”, “nationalism”, “national consciousness” and “national unity” and analysed, what kind of meanings they have been given in the textbooks in the context. Taking into account that Cameroon has until today had only two presidents and the administration is highly centralised, I will also examine, how the presidents of Cameroon are described in the text.

It seems surprising that the political development leading to the decolonisation process, including the reunification of 1960–1961, has been devoted only 6 % of the history of Cameroon in the textbooks (see table 10). This small share might be caused by controversial interpretations of the history preceding independence in the Cameroonian historiography. Discourses about the first nationalist party UPC (Union des peuples du Cameroun) provides an example of such discrepancy (see chapter 1.2). Taking into account the central role of the president in Cameroon, the marginalized role of Cameroon’s post-colonial history in the textbooks seems even more surprising. As illustrated in table 8, the period under the rule of president Ahidjo between 1960 and 1982, is covered with 19 pages and only 13 pages are devoted to Paul Biya, president since 1982. Thus, the three most recent decades of the history of Cameroon have been largely ignored.

Until the 1980’s, the status of contemporary history remained internationally disputed because the branch was not considered to fit into scientific requirements of a timely distance and thus, objectivity. Since the early 1990’s, there has been an overwhelming acceptance of seeing contemporary history as a fully inclusive part of history writing.
However, I do not believe that this is related to the low share of contemporary history in the Cameroonian history textbooks. Instead, I believe this is to a large extent caused by the Cameroonian regime’s will to ignore such inconvenient parts of the national history which have their implications in the contemporary societal problems. Despite the legal basis of multiparty-system created by Biya in the early 1990’s, criticism against the regime is not tolerated in Cameroon – least of all from the civil servants.

The flow of information in today’s Cameroon is still not free, despite the certain level of improvement in Biya’s era compared to Ahidjo’s (Nsoudou 2009, p. 211). Especially the social sciences are regarded with suspicion. For example, the Department of Sociology and Philosophy of the University of Yaoundé was closed in 1970, as the authorities considered sociologists to be too interested in the flaws of social policy. The theoretical studies were not to be too critical and they were not to lead to any practical implications. Even as recently as in 1991, the University of Yaoundé’s Institute of Human Sciences was dissolved by a presidential decree. On the one hand, the government has established higher education and research institutes and acknowledges education and research as elementary features for increasing social and economic wellbeing of Cameroon. On the other hand, politicians show constant distrust of the research results. (Mbock et al. 2004, p. 38).

Therefore, “provocative” approaches are not tolerated in schools either, let alone cultivated. Although the Introduction to History, Book 1 claims that history shall be studied in order “to acquire critical skills” (ITH 2007, p. 1), I find it difficult to see that the textbooks would seriously aim at providing pupils the skills needed for a critical approach to history, and especially to the national history. In fact, another reason for studying history is given as “to protect our institutions and ideas such as national integration” (Ibid.). Hence, while being critical on the one hand, the pupils should not question their “national institutions and ideas”, but “to protect” them on the other. The study of Alexis Ngatcha, who has examined German language learning practices among the upper secondary level students in Cameroon, indicates that school education in Cameroon does not promote competencies of critical reflection and active participation. Quoting one of the student-respondents in his study:

57 Pupils must only study, not talk politics. The president has...
always told us that school belongs to pupils, politics to politicians.” (Ngatcha 2002, p. 178).

6.2.1. Independence and national unity as a destined thread

First, it needs to be noted that none of the terms “nation”, “nationalism”, “national consciousness” or “national unity” have been defined in the textbooks. It seems though that all these concepts are intertwined with independence. The “African nationalism” is discussed in the Ordinary Level History, in a chapter titled “The rise of African nationalism” (OLH 2008, pp. 179–189), where it is defined as “the spirit of self-realisation”, “the expression of the will by Africans to be self-governing” and “the quest for self-government or nationhood” (OLH 2008, p. 179). This provides the basis for me to approach the appearances of the Cameroonian nationalism in the textbooks.

Indeed, aspirations of an independent, united Cameroon appear like a destined thread in the textbooks which has its origins in the narratives of 19th and early 20th centuries’ resistances against the colonial rulers. For example, it is stated that the native resistances against the Germans failed due to the lack of unity among the tribes: “They never realised that they could join their forces and defeat the Germans.” (SPH4 2006, p. 37; see also OLH 2008, pp. 46–47). Further, the Duala and Baya resistances against the French administration in the 1920’s are said to have “helped to stimulate Cameroonian nationalism”. As French rule was criticized, the indigenes wished to gain self-government”. (OLH 2008, p. 73). It is further narrated that both in the British and French Cameroons, “a sense of consciousness of belonging to a common territory” and the “spirit of nationalism” were developed in the aftermath of the Second World War, as the Cameroonian soldiers returned from the front “with new ideas and ways of life” (OLH 2008, pp. 64 and 78; SPH5 2006, pp. 58–59).

provinces of Cameroon, through following 45 German lessons in four high schools in Yaoundé and in three high schools in Yaoundé. Curriculum-based lessons for pupils were designed with the help of university students studying to become teachers. During the lessons, participative pedagogical methods were used in order to discuss various societal themes such as the state of democracy in Cameroon, corruption, human rights and the environmental exploitation. Pupils conducted also written assignments which were further analysed. This is contrary to general pedagogical practices of German language teachers, which – according to Ngatcha’s observations – largely are based on humiliation and discrimination of pupils. Teacher is the mighty power and the source of knowledge, whose position is not to be questioned. Teaching relies on mechanical and monotone repetition of translating texts and learning grammar which does not support the development of independent and critical thinking. It is worth noting, that only very few German language teachers were willing to participate in Ngatcha’s study, since they considered it might be interpreted as provocative and thus, they would lose their jobs. (Ngatcha 2002, pp. 90, 140–145 and 157).
Most clearly nationalism appears to manifest itself in the textbook descriptions of the late 1940’s and 1950’s, when the first political parties were established both in the French and British Cameroons. For example, in the sub-chapter titled “Factors responsible for the growth of nationalism in British Southern Cameroons”, the *Ordinary Level History* states that “At the centre of the nationalist struggle for self-government in Southern Cameroons were political parties.” These political parties “instilled a sense of nationalist pride in Southern Cameroonians”, and “helped to raise awareness on the political picture of Southern Cameroons”. (OLH 2008, pp. 98–99). The establishment of political institutions is also seen essential in the decolonization process. For example, the Legislative Assembly of French Cameroon (*Assemblé legislative du Cameroun, ALCAM*), established in 1957 is said to have “brought together French Cameroonians from all regions. By so doing, it helped to foster the spirit of oneness that was a prerequisite to statehood.” (OLH 2008, p. 96).

Interestingly, the “self” as described in the textbooks, receives more emancipated tones towards the end of colonial period. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the textbooks use terminology such as the “natives” or the “indigenes” in their references to Cameroonians in the pre-colonial and colonial period, which allows interpretations of an “exterior self”. During the period of the British and French mandates and trustees, such terminology is gradually replaced with “the people of British Cameroon”, “the people of Southern Cameroons”, “the Southern Cameroonians”, “the people of French Cameroon”, “the French Cameroonians” or simply with “the people of Cameroon” or “the Cameroonians”. (SPH5 2006, p. 56–67; SPH6 2006, 65–79). The voice is also increasingly given to political actors – “the nationalists”, political groups, or parties and their leaders (OLH 2008, pp. 98–99). After the reunification in 1961, the national subject is further raised, and it is ultimately “the population” and “the people of Cameroon” whose opinion is asked when the voting on the new constitution of 1972 is narrated (SPH5 2006, p. 70; SPH6 2006, 81).

6.2.2. Good leaders, national unity and centralised governance

In a chapter titled “What is history”, the *Senior Primary History, Class 4* defines history as follows: “Man makes history as a single person. For example, a ruler, a hero, a heroine or an obedient servant.” (SPH4 2006, p. 2). The *Introduction to History, Book 1* further
clarifies: “Some have made more history than others. We often remember only great history-makers. They are usually heroes, politicians, religious leaders and other leaders.” (ITH1 2007, p. 1). Hence, prominent figures are seen to have a special significance for the course of history. In this chapter, I will examine, how the concepts of leadership on the one hand and administration on the other are described in the textbooks. I consider this to be relevant for understanding the role of the highly centralised government in Cameroon, and for understanding, why the need for this type of a governmental structure is not questioned in the textbooks. In fact, the concepts seem to be tightly intertwined.

First, it is remarkable that throughout the textbooks, there are numerous examples given of civilisations that are seen to have been successful only when they had strong leaders. For example, ancient Egypt “[–] was very blessed with wise, strong and able rulers who built a highly centralised system of government and administration, which led the state progressing for over 3000 years.” (ITH1 2007, p. 33). In fact, as concluded in the *Introduction to History, Book One*, the following “political factors” are seen to have favoured the growth and prosperity of the ancient civilisations:

- **Possession of wise, strong and powerful political leadership:** They were all blessed to have wise, intelligent, brave and imaginative rulers/kings who served the interests of the people and the government well. [–] An efficient Civil Service: They had developed a nucleus of an efficient civil service which was honest in carrying out duties of the state properly. The tax collectors, policemen, [–] were very loyal and obedient to their king and government. They executed the kings laws and orders very diligently. (ITH1 2007, p. 15).

Again, one of the reasons for the decline of Egypt was that it “[–] was ruled by a succession of weak and incompetent rulers who could not maintain the prosperity.” (ITH1 2007, p. 43). Thus, rises and falls of civilisations are seen to be related with their fortune of having “strong”, “able”, “wise” and “determined” leaders or with their misfortune of having “weak”, “unwise”, “unable”, “ineffective”, “incompetent” or “oppressive” kings and rulers.58

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58 See for example the narratives about the Babylonians in Mesopotamia (ca. 1500–500 BC) and about the West-African empires of Mali and Songhai (ca. 13th–15th centuries). (ITH2 2007, pp.17–19 and 21–25; ITH1 2007, pp. 60–63).
The centralised governance is also seen as a key to societal success. For example, in the case of the ancient Western Sudan empires: “These early empires expanded or contracted depending on the strength of the central authority. [---] The ruling class inhabited the heart of the empire, which was firmly under the control of the central government.” (ITH2 2007, p. 9). Against this need for a society to have centralized governance in order to prosper, the textbooks give numerous examples of civilisations that perished due to a threat coming from the “inside” of a society through unloyal servants, provinces or vassals, or from the “outside” via the invasion of the neighboring kingdoms. As the Introduction to History, Book 2 examines the decline of the Mutapa empire – one of the Bantu peoples’ kingdoms during the 15th–16th centuries in the area of the modern states Zimbabwe and Mozambique – it is generalized that “As in all kingdoms, whether in Africa, Asia or Europe, powerful lords challenged the authority of the Emperor and fought for their independence once they realized that the Emperor was weak.” (ITH2 2007, p. 55). Hence, the leadership and the central government had to be built strong enough to encounter the inevitable attempts of neighboring or subordinate “lords” to attack the kingdom.

Even the diversity in the society has been pointed out as a risk factor for the decline of a society, as in the case of the Ghana empire:

*The empire was composed of people speaking many different languages and possessing no political, linguistic or cultural unity. [---] It was difficult to keep such a diverse population united and loyal particularly the vassal states, which became more powerful and gradually asserted their independence.* (ITH2 2007, p. 14).

The extract transmits an implicit message about the lack of unity (political, linguistic, cultural) in the society as a risk factor. In the Cameroonian context, this is interesting, knowing the immense ethnic and linguistic diversity in the country. The Senior Primary History, Class 6 discusses the ethnic groups in today’s Cameroon in a chapter titled “The people of Cameroon”. According to the text, the ethnic groups have “different civilisations, religions and origins” but their common citizenship is emphasized: “They are all Cameroonians. Cameroon is their country.” (SPH5 2006, p. 5).
6.2.3. National unity created by great men, manoeuvred by presidents

I previously noted that in the textbooks, leading figures are seen as important actors in the course of history. In case of the history of Cameroon, the vast majority of the Cameroon-related illustration falls in the category “historical figures” – 25 pictures of the total amount of 65 (see tables 8–9). Indeed, figures seem to have a significant role in the historical consciousness of Cameroon. Table 11 lists the historical figures of Cameroon that are illustrated in the textbooks.

Table 11: Historical figures of Cameroon in the textbooks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Ibrahim Njoua</td>
<td>Chief of the Bamum people. He accepted the German rule, but later opposed the French rule, which fragmented his territory into 17 chieflys. Njoua was exiled to Yaoundé in 1931. (DeLancey and Mokeba 1990, p. 152).</td>
<td>SPH4, OLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Charles Atanga</td>
<td>Interpreter and administrator, who assisted the Germans during the protectorate period.</td>
<td>SPH4, OLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Andre-Marie Mbida</td>
<td>Prime Minister of the French Cameroon 1956–1957</td>
<td>SPH5, OLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 E.M.L. Endeley</td>
<td>The first Prime Minister of the Southern British Cameroons in 1954.</td>
<td>SPH5, OLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 S.T. Muna</td>
<td>Prime Minister of West Cameroon 1968.</td>
<td>SPH5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Ruben Um Nyobe</td>
<td>Founder and leader of the UPC party.</td>
<td>SPH5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 King Bell</td>
<td>One of the Duala chiefs, who signed the treaty with Germans in 1884.</td>
<td>OLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Fon Galega I</td>
<td>Chief of the Bali.</td>
<td>OLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Manga Williams</td>
<td>Chief of the Duala people, who represented the British Southern Cameroons in the legislative council in Lagos in 1942.</td>
<td>OLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Nerius Namata Mbile</td>
<td>One of the early nationalists in the politics of the West Cameroon. Had several ministerial posts until the constitution of 1972, after which became less prominent in Cameroon’s politics. (DeLancey and Mokeba 1990, p. 130).</td>
<td>OLH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

59 The figures are listed on the basis of their chronological appearance in the textbooks. Hence, the first figure that pupils are confronted with, is the Bamum chief Ibrahim Njoua (SPH 2006, p. 11).

60 The descriptions are to be found in the textbooks. In case the text provides hardly any information on the historical figure in question, I have relied on the “Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon” by DeLancey and Mokeba (1990).
Altogether, only 13 historical figures of Cameroon are illustrated in the textbooks. This may not seem a big number taking into account that the textbooks cover the entire history of Cameroon. Most of the figures listed are linked with either the colonial era, or with the decolonisation process in Cameroon. In a chapter titled “Important figures in the history of Cameroon” of the *Senior Primary History, Class 5* it is explicitly stated: “Most of these [important figures] are the people who worked for the independence of Cameroon.” (SPH5 2006, p. 73). The chapter in question – also included in the *Senior Primary History, Class 6* – lists a group of men, who can be regarded as central for the nation building in Cameroon.

This core group of men includes seven historical figures (marked with grey in table 11 above): Mbida, Ahidjo, Endeley, Foncha, Muna, Nyobe and Biya. All figures are party leaders (mainly of the first political parties of the 1950’s) and central in the reunification process between 1960 and 1961. For example, Andre-Marie Mbida is said to “be noted in the history of Cameroon as the man who started the work of preparing the territory for independence”. John Ngu Foncha again “loved his country Cameroon” and is to be regarded as the man who “led the people of Southern Cameroons into the reunification with the Republic of Cameroon”. (SPH6 2006, p. 83). Table 11 once again shows, that only a small amount of attention is given to the contemporary history of Cameroon in the textbooks. Only one of the figures listed, president Paul Biya himself, can be regarded as representing the contemporary history of Cameroon. Not a single minister of his government has been showcased, let alone leaders or members of the opposition parties.

How are then the presidents – Ahmadou Ahidjo (president between 1960 and 1982) and Paul Biya (president since 1982) – described in the textbooks? In short, Ahidjo is presented as an architect of independence and a creator of the national unity and Biya is seen as his trusted successor who started gradual democratisation in Cameroon. It is stated for example, that Ahidjo became president in 1960 “after having worked very hard for the independence of the country” (SPH5 2006, p. 74; see also SPH6 2006, p. 79). Further, in 1961 Ahidjo is said to have “achieved many things. First, the Republic of Cameroon [Ahidjo as its president] won reunification with Southern Cameroons and the Federal Republic of Cameroon was born. Secondly, he became the first president [--].” (SPH5 2006, p. 74). The federal system again, was to increase “one nationality [--] where the various fundamental differences would be guaranteed in a one nationality system.” (OLH
So, the independence and reunification process and ultimately the process of becoming a nation are virtually showcased as Ahidjo’s flagship projects. The textbooks once again remain silent about inconvenient factors, such as the lack of elections in the process of Ahidjo becoming a president. The role and support of the French government for Ahidjo before and after independence also remains without sufficient notice and critical analysis.⁶¹

In 1966, Ahidjo virtually established a single-party state by banning all other parties. Although minor criticism can be found in the *Ordinary Level History*, such as “Ahidjo wanted to consolidate his position and fasten his grip over the country” (OLH 2008, p. 122), the textbooks seem to have an inherently benevolent approach to the event. In fact, this is seen as a natural course of development in all of post-colonial Africa: “[–] many African states adopted single ruling political parties to administer their peoples. [–] in order to unite the efforts of all citizens aimed at nation building. [–] one-party systems were the only option to keep the country together or in unity.” The *Ordinary Level History* continues that one of the reasons for Ahidjo to form a single party was “to foster national unity”. (OLH 2008, p. 234).

Classes 5 and 6 of the *Senior Primary History* remain neutral and merely state that in 1966 all political parties “came together to form one national ruling party” (SPH5 2006, p. 69) or “joined to form the Cameroon National Union (C.N.U.) Party” (SPH6 2006, p. 80). However, when the political biography of Ahidjo is discussed, it is admiringly stated: “From 1961 to 1972, Ahidjo was able to hold the Federal Republic of Cameroon together. [–] the C.N.U. party was formed to bring more unity to Cameroon.” (SPH6 2006, p. 82). Further, as was discussed in chapter 1.2., the constitutional referendum in 1972 sealed Ahidjo’s monarchy, as the federal system was done away with the new constitution and the United Republic of Cameroon was established. Also this event seems to be praised in the textbooks as an achievement of Ahidjo:

*The year 1972 shall be remembered for the unification of Cameroon. As Cameroonians became one, so many things were done to develop the country.*

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⁶¹ Ahidjo was appointed prime minister in 1958 by France, who still retained this designation power in the French Cameroon. The French authorities backed the moderate parties, hence Ahidjo’s *Union Camerounaise* and signed bilateral cooperation agreements, including on France’s military support to Ahidjo’s government. France initiated a resolution in the UN General Assembly’s Fourth Committee in February 1959, according to which there were no presidential elections to be conducted in Cameroon before independence in early 1960. (International Crisis Group 2010a, p. 5; Cumming 2007, p. 106).
Roads and railways were built, schools and hospitals were constructed [--]. Most Cameroonians think of him [Ahidjo] as the man who led French Cameroon to independence, won its reunification with British Southern Cameroons and planned its development. (SPH6 2006, p. 83).

It is astonishing, how little has been said about Paul Biya in the textbooks, president of Cameroon for the past 30 years (since 1982). Again, the textbooks show no criticism of the fact that – like Ahidjo – also Biya was not elected via democratic elections, but his coming into power is legitimised by presenting him as a political heir of Ahidjo: “[Ahidjo] had much confidence in Paul Biya, his successor. He [Ahidjo] was sure the latter could manage the nation’s affairs very well. [--] by the provision of the constitution, he [Biya] was to succeed the president.” (OLH 2008, p. 130). Biya appears in the textbooks foremost as a leader who brought the beginnings of democracy into Cameroon: “Cameroon’s multipartism manifested itself mostly in the form of elections which were either legislative, presidential or municipal between 1992 and 2004. These elections were a manifestation of Cameroon’s apprenticeship in democracy.” (OLH 2008, p. 137). Also the Senior Primary History, Class 6 notes that “Biya shall be remembered in the history of Cameroon as the man who made Cameroonians to feel free anywhere in their country.” (SPH 2006, p. 84).

The state of democracy in Cameroon – wheter in the past or in the present – is hardly touched upon in the textbooks. No critical reflection can be found about the fact that Cameroon has had only two presidents until today. The despotic system, where the civil servants’ loyalty to president is emphasised, is not at all reflected in the textbooks. The clientelist system was created by Ahidjo and in many ways still maintained by Biya. National history appears like a straightforward, president-driven project of becoming a nation. Nothing has been said about the flaws and alleged fraud reported by international observers in numerous elections during Biya’s era (International Crisis Group 2010a, p. 35). Similarly, the widespread discontent of the people of Cameroon does not find a place in the textbooks. It would be interesting to see, how for example the riots in February 2008 (see chapter 1.2) will be displayed in the future updated editions of the textbooks. Also the unsolved “Anglophone problem“ is not at all discussed in the textbooks. On the contrary, school pupils are left with an impression that harmonious national unity between territories prevails.
To conclude, the image of the “nation” is tightly linked with the state-driven discourse of national unity. Nation building is essential for achieving and preserving independence. Independence again is often central in the nation building process. In the textbooks, achieving independence appears as a destined thread, beginning in the narratives about natives’ resistances against colonial rulers in the 19th century, and culminating to the unified constitution in 1972 that marked the end of the federal governance in Cameroon. The process of becoming a nation is also reflected in the terminology of the national subject. “Externalised self” in the narrations of precolonial and colonial period, is gradually replaced with references to nation as a collective subject towards the decolonisation and post-colonial period.

Table 11 further illustrates the emphasis on politics in the nation building process in Cameroon. All of the “important figures in the history of Cameroon” listed in the textbooks are party leaders of their time, and central for the independence and reunification processes. On the other hand, the basis for accepting a powerful president and highly centralised government in a society is formed in the narratives on ancient civilisations, which are seen to have prospered or perished according to their “fortune” or “misfortune” of having good and able or weak leaders. Further, central governance is seen as a prerequisite for forming national unity, another element of prosperity in a society. These interlinkages can be seen as reflections of images created of the presidents of Cameroon. President Ahidjo is represented as an architect of the national unity and Biya as his political heir, whose continuing despotic power through the virtual one-state-party is not criticised.

6.3. Conclusions

In the chapter 6, my emphasis was on the national history of Cameroon. The aim was to examine, how the historical consciousness and nation building appear to be constructed in the textbooks. Using the qualitative method of imagology, I examined how the “self” and the “nation” are perceived in the textbooks, what is the image constructed of them. In the narratives of the “self”, the sub-themes of 1) the origins of Cameroon and the Cameroonians, 2) the “exterior self” and 3) the relation of the “self” with Western civilisation were chosen for closer examination. The narratives of the “nation” were closely linked with the state-produced discourse of “national unity” and the following sub-themes were selected for closer examination: 1) national unity gained through
independence, 2) connections of national unity to leading figures and centralised governance in history and 3) the presidents of Cameroon as creators of national unity.

In chapter 6.1., my focus was on the pre-colonial and colonial history of Cameroon. Emphasis was on examining the influence of Europe in the Cameroonian historical consciousness. In quantitative terms, Europe, and in particular the previous colonial powers still seem to have a great influence on the historical consciousness as promoted in the textbooks, since the vast majority of the entire national history syllabus (67 %) examines the period of colonialism and the decolonisation process in Cameroon. The qualitative analysis on conceptualising the “self” in the textbooks, supports this conclusion. The formation of Cameroon as a country is firmly seen as a European creation with linkages to European explorations on the one hand, and the administrative borders established by the German Empire on the other. The lack of critical analysis and reflection is distinct for the textbooks. For example, the colonial terminology such as “arrival of Europeans”, “explorations” or even Africa as the “dark continent” are not critically reflected. No questioning about their accuracy takes place, nor is there any reflection about the question on whose history has been narrated, thus through whose eyes the narration has been constructed.

The “self” was further marked with a certain externalisation in terms of the terminology used in references to Cameroonian. It was noted that the “natives”, “indigenous” and “tribal” people – terms used in the textbooks – in fact reflect the European perspective. This terminology was commonly used in the European explorers’ and colonial officers’ reports, which provided the (thoroughly Eurocentric) basis for seeing the course of development. This approach, which ultimately aimed to justify colonialism in the mother countries in Europe, was then adopted in the European, or “Western” historiography and further taught in Cameroonian schools. It may seem surprising, that Cameroonian history textbooks, published as late as in 2008, still reaffirm the European perspective to history. This can be seen in the warfare narratives. For example, in the case of describing the natives’ resistances against the German Empire, the German victims were carefully listed by name, whereas the Cameroonian casualties were only mentioned by a rough number. The perspective was European also in the case of describing the First World War events in Cameroon, in which the Cameroonian’s role in the course of events as well as the war’s effects on them is almost totally absent. Neither do the textbooks refer to any of the
numerous war crimes committed by both warfaring parties (Germany and the Allies) in Cameroon.

Europe seems to form a standard for development and progress in the textbooks, against which the level of development in other regions – including in Cameroon – can be measured. Although it remains without explicit definition, the concept “Western civilisation” appears to refer to processes that inherently reflect a good quality of life, enlightenment and technical improvement. Christianity and Islam are seen as signs of this development, as they increased literacy in a society, as well as generally spoken the “ideas from outside”. For example, the pygmies – an indigenous group in Cameroon – are seen as “remaining primitive” due to not having welcomed influences from outside. Further, education – as rooted in Cameroon by the colonial powers – is seen as a pathway to Western civilisation and “widened thinking”. No critical reflection can be found on the hidden agenda of colonial education, and its impacts on today’s society. Even the concept of “imperialism” itself is defined as a process, where a more “advanced nation” took control over “a backward territory”.

In chapter 6.2., the focus was on the decolonisation process and the post-colonial history of Cameroon. Emphasis was on examining reflections of the state-driven discourse on “national unity” in the historical consciousness as promoted in the textbooks, and furthermore in the construction of national identity. As is the case in many African countries, also in Cameroon, the definition “nation building” can be seen as a politically driven project for creating a homogenous and stable nation after becoming independent. Again, like in many other African countries, also in Cameroon, independence was not gained without turbulence and violent aftermats. With military support from France, the new regime, led by president Ahidjo, targeted violent campaigns against the rioting opposition movement. These actions were justified by presenting the opposition as an enemy for national unity and led to centralizing of power and forming a virtually despotic police-state. The process culminated in the official creation of the one-party-state in 1966. The discourse of national unity – still present in Cameroon’s current constitution and in other government documents such as those concerning education – was useful in marginalizing or destroying all views for alternative ideologies and administrative structures.
The qualitative analysis on conceptualising the “nation” in the textbooks confirms the emphasis on national unity, which is inherently seen as linked with the nation building. Achieving independence appears as a destined thread in the textbooks, starting with the narratives on natives’ resistances against colonial rulers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and culminating with the unified constitution in 1972, which put an end to the federal governance. The process of achieving national unity is again seen to be tightly linked with leading historical figures. An excursion into the history of Africa revealed that ancient African civilisations are seen to have prospered or perished according to their “fortune” or “misfortune” of having good and able or weak leaders. Central governance is seen as a prerequisite for this national unity, which again is seen to ensure the prosperity of a society.

In the case of Cameroon, national unity is presented essentially as a political project, with only seven historical figures forming a core group of “important figures in the history of Cameroon” who “worked for independence” (and hence, for national unity). The invoked admiration for leading political figures in general is then directed to presidents of Cameroon, of whom Ahidjo is presented as the true architect of national unity and Biya as his political heir. Ahidjo’s rule is approached mainly with admiration and even the banning of all parties in 1966 but the one chaired by himself, is seen as a justified measure for “fostering national unity” and even a natural process in the post-colonial Africa more generally. Biya again is described as the political heir of Ahidjo. He is praised for increasing the level of democracy and liberalism in Cameroon, but not enough attention is given to the prevailing despotic power of the regime.

In quantitative terms, surprisingly small attention is devoted to the decolonisation process and the post-colonial history of Cameroon. Only 5 % of the contents handling national history, discusses Biya’s period – thus the historical period since 1982. As was concluded in my study, this might be caused by the general discomfort with social sciences among politicians. The textbooks do not show serious will of educating pupils to think critically and reflect analytically on the political – and other – development in their country. Flaws of the society caused by the regime are not truly examined in the textbooks. Despite of having many active parties in Cameroon since the beginning of 1990’s, Biya’s ruling party virtually dominates all decision making and civil servants are not to criticize the prevailing power structures in the country. Through provincial inspectors of education, also
individual teachers are subordinated to state control. It is reasonable to conclude by recalling the quotation of an upper-secondary student in Alexis Ngatcha’s study: “Pupils must only study, not talk politics. The president has always told us that school belongs to pupils, politics to politicians.” (Ngatcha 2002, p. 178).
REFLECTIONS

As a social construction, national identity requires history as an essential ingredient. In the nation building process it provides a pool of common memories and traditions. Through the sense of a commonly shared past, historical consciousness may be used by authorities to justify certain phenomena or course of development in a country or in a society. If education itself is politically loaded, history as a subject has an especially distinct political dimension due to its role in constructing national identity. Studies on the contents and objectives of education in the African context should be harnessed for revealing the prevailing impacts of the “colonisation of the mind”. In terms of history as a discipline, the African historiography per se has very young traditions, and it faces challenges of overcoming the Western domination. The African historiography still bears the legacy of the Western tradition which has not always been self-critical but tends to be founded on the approaches of the conquerors. For example, only as late as in the 21st century, the studies on the two World Wars fought in colonial territories, have started to emerge with the focus on the local peoples’ views and experiences. Many countries, including Germany, France and UK still have critically to study their own colonial past.

History textbooks used in school reveal officially recognised historical “truths” in a country, and therefore they provide a fruitful source for studies on historical consciousness and national identity. My study focused on the nationally produced textbooks in contemporary Anglophone Cameroon. The levels of education covered primary (classes 4–6) and lower secondary education (forms 1–5). The enrolment rates are higher in primary and lower secondary education, as compared with upper secondary education. Therefore also the historical consciousness is likely to have a more significant basis in these levels of education. The production of a nationally distinguished publishing house Anucam Educational Books (ANUCAM) were chosen, because of the vast potential that lies in the national publishing industry in Cameroon. Improving pupils’ access to textbooks is acknowledged as one of the most efficient single interventions in attempts to improve the quality of education. National textbook production again has the potential of providing textbooks at lower prices, compared to those of multinational publishing houses. However, it is of great importance, also to pay attention to the contents of learning materials.
In this study there was an examination of what kind of historical consciousness and national identity is promoted in the Cameroonian history textbooks. Both quantitative (space analysis) and qualitative content analysis (imagology) were used. I first sketched quantitative tables on the geographical division of the textbook contents into world history, regional history (history of Africa and Europe) and the national history (history of Cameroon). The entire content of the textbooks was taken into account – covering 809 pages of text and including 251 pictures. Quantitative analysis was necessary for drafting the basis for further questions on historical consciousness and nation building. Quantitative analysis in such a broad dimension as used in this study, is justified since there was virtually no previous research on textbook content analysis in a Cameroonian context available. In fact, I am convinced that the quantitative tables presented in this study offer possibilities for many new approaches and interpretations on the historical consciousness in the Cameroonian textbooks.

In the qualitative analysis, imagology was used to examine, how the “self” and the “nation” are perceived in the textbooks, what image is constructed of them. In both cases, three approaches or narratives were chosen for analysis. In the case of examining the image provided of the “self”, they were the following: the origins of Cameroon and the Cameroonians, the “exterior self” and the relation of the “self” with the Western civilisation. Based on the analysis, one can conclude that Europe (as stemming from the colonial period) still plays a role in the contemporary historical consciousness of Cameroon. In the textbooks, the formation of Cameroon as a country is seen as a European creation. Terminology stemming from the colonial interpretations is constantly used in the textbook descriptions of the Cameroonian people during the pre-colonial and colonial periods (such as the “natives”, “indigenous” and “tribal” people). The image of the “Western civilisation” in the textbooks again, is loaded with positive connotations of development and progress.

In case of examining the image provided of the “nation”, the narratives chosen for closer analysis were linked with the state-produced discourse of “national unity”. In this respect, the process of becoming independent was examined as well as the images of leading historical figures and their relations to centralised governance and images of the two presidents of Cameroon. To conclude, achieving independence appears as a destined thread in the textbooks, as a process culminating in the unified constitution of 1972, which put an
end to federal governance. Leading historical figures are represented as being essential for forming the national unity, which again is seen as a central element for the prosperity of civilizations. With criticism and analytical reflection being almost entirely absent, the presidents of Cameroon are presented as the creators of this national unity in Cameroon.

Taking into account the deficit of textbook research in Cameroon and also more generally in African countries, there is still plenty of room for content analysis of learning materials – also in other disciplines added to history. I see my study belonging to the field of basic research with the potential of encouraging scholars to increasingly enter the field of textbook research in the African context. For example, the quantitative tables in my study entail plenty of information that was not directly used in this study, but may be supportive for numerous other approaches. It would be interesting to find out, if content analysis conducted on other African countries’ contemporary history textbooks would lead to similar conclusions, for example in terms of Eurocentric perspectives on history. Such content analysis could support national efforts of improving the quality of learning materials – an objective explicitly expressed also by the government of Cameroon in its Education Sector Strategy Plan (2006).

For further studies with the focus on Cameroon, textbooks used in the Francophone sub-system and also the titles published by multinational publishing houses should be included in the analysis. It would be interesting to cover older textbooks too, with aims of examining the development of national identity and historical consciousness in Cameroon. Contemporary history, which was only vaguely touched upon by the textbooks in all categories (world history, history of Africa, Europe and Cameroon), would need to be examined more closely, as well as history of Africa, Europe and world in general. In terms of history of Africa for example, one could examine, why the contents are so heavily dominated by the pre-colonial period (compared to national history, where the focus is on the colonial period and the process of decolonization). Peculiarly, the texts in the analysed textbooks barely mention the neighboring countries of Cameroon, hence, international relations in the African context would also deserve to be analysed more closely.

On the other hand, the limitations of the textbook research must be taken into account. Namely, the textbook content analysis can never unveil how the teachers or students truly perceive history, since it tells us nothing about the use of textbooks, pedagogical practices
in the classroom or the skills, attitudes and values acquired by the pupils and students. Hence, in order to get a broader grasp on the history consciousness promoted through schooling, additional data, such as interviews with educational authorities, school principals, teachers and students should be included in the research.

In terms of validity, when using content analysis, one should constantly be reminded about the subjectivity of the research questions that are considered as being raised from the narratives of the analysed textbooks. The researcher is always to some extent bound to his or her own socio-cultural background and to previous academic studies. Hence, the narratives may appear in a different light to other researchers. Forming the research questions is an inherently subjective process. Studies on historical consciousness require an extensive knowledge of the historical and socio-cultural background of the country in question. The researcher must be aware of these sensitivities related to subjectivity, which have their roots even in the historiography itself. In further studies, it is important to keep in mind the deconstructivistic approach to history, according to which the entire discipline can be seen as a cultural product, a study of the narratives produced by historians.
REFERENCES


Weiβ, J. (1991) "Revolutionäre und demokratische Bewegungen in Deutschland zwischen 1789 und 1849. Eine Untersuchung zu Geschichtsdarstellung und Geschichtsbild in deutschen Schulgeschichtsbüchern der Weimarer Republik und der nationalsozialistischen Zeit”. [Revolutionary and democratic movements in Germany between 1789 and 1849. A study on history images in the textbooks in the Weimar Republic and in the National


APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Administrative map of Cameroon (Map No. 4227 United Nations, 2004, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Cartographic Section)

Cameroon is divided into ten provinces: Adamaoua, Center, Est, Extreme-Nord, Littoral, Nord, Nord-Ouest, Ouest, Sud, Sud-Ouest
Appendices 3a–3d. Themes of the history of Cameroon as presented in the textbooks
(Senior Primary History, Classes 4–6, Ordinary Level History, Section A)

Themes presented in the tables describe the contents of the titles and the sub-titles of the textbook chapters. For example, chapter 5 of Senior Primary History, Class 4 is titled “Migrations” and “Migration in Cameroon” – which is included in the list below – is a sub-title of it. The sub-chapter in question again covers roughly the themes “What groups have migrated to or in Cameroon” and “The effects of migration on Cameroon”. The following themes are learned in all the textbooks (underlined and marked with bolded text in the table below): “Europeans in Cameroon”, “Cameroon under German rule (1884–1916)”, “The First World War in Cameroon (1914–1916)” and “The British and French mandates in Cameroon (1916–1939)”.

Appendix 3a. Themes of the history of Cameroon in the SPH4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Textbook title</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unclassified</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>18 %</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration in Cameroon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What groups have migrated to or in Cameroon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The effects of migration on Cameroon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religions in Cameroon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Animism, Islam, Christianity: origins and practices</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-colonial Cameroon (–1884)</strong></td>
<td><strong>28 %</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of locality – the case “Bamum Kingdom”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Europeans in Cameroon</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The arrival of Europeans in Cameroon: Early contacts made by the Europeans (5th – 15th century): Why the Europeans came to Cameroon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The explorations of Cameroon by the Europeans (19th century): Why the Europeans did not explore the interior of Cameroon before the 19th century, Why the Europeans explored the interior of Cameroon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Explorers and their routes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Consequences in Cameroon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonialisation and Decolonisation</td>
<td>54 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cameroon under German rule (1884–1916)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Resistance to German rule: why and how the natives of Cameroon resisted, Why the resistances were defeated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Germans take full control: Important Cameroonians who assisted, Important German explorers who worked hard to plant German rule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The First World War in Cameroon (1914–1916)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Why and how Cameroon was involved in the I WW, Why Britain and France defeated the Germans in Cameroon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The effects of the war in Cameroon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The British and French mandates in Cameroon (1916 - 1939)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Conditions of the League of Nation under which the Cameroon mandate had to be administrated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- British mandate: administration, economy, social development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- French mandate: administration, economy, social development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 3b. Themes of the history of Cameroon in the SPH5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Textbook title</th>
<th>Class 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Unclassified 20 %** | The people of Cameroon: - ethnic groups  
  Religions in Cameroon  
  - Animism, Islam, Christianity: origins, practices, problems |
| **Pre-colonial Cameroon (1884) 24 %** | The Sao (ca 900-1500 AD)  
  - Origins, lifestyle (economic and cultural life)  
  - Reasons for the decline  
  **Europeans in Cameroon**  
  - Europeans at the coast of Cameroon: Reasons why the Europeans came to the coast of Cameroon: The Carthaginians (4th century), The Spaniards, The Portuguese (15th century)  
  - The discovery of Rio dos Cameroes – River of prawns  
  - European activities before the annexation of Cameroon: exploration, trade, religion  
  Slavery and slave trade in Cameroon (domestic)  
  - How the slaves were got, the prices for slaves  
  - Position of slaves among some ethnic groups  
  - The end of slave trade in Cameroon |
| **Colonialisation and Decolonisation 46 %** | The Germans in Cameroon (1884–1916)  
  - German explorers  
  - Some rulers who resisted the Germans in Cameroon  
  - The German achievements in Cameroon: industry, education, agriculture, communication, architecture, trade and industry  
  **The First World War in Cameroon (1914–1916)**  
  - Why the war extended to Cameroon, How the war was fought in Cameroon, The effects of the war on Cameroon  
  **The British and French mandates in Cameroon (1916–1939)**  
  - Cameroon becomes a mandate of the League of Nations: The status of the mandated territory (how the mandate must be administrated)  
  - Cameroon under French mandate  
  - Cameroon under British mandate  
  Cameroon and the Second World War (1939–1945)  
  - Contribution of Cameroonians to the war effort of the British and French  
  - Soldiers who survived the war (Ex-servicemen)  
  - The results of the war in Cameroon  
  - The Free French Movement: How French Cameroon joined the Free French Movement, General Charles De Gaulle’s visits to Cameroon, Brazzaville Conference 1944, Fort Lamy |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post colonial Cameroon</th>
<th>10 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon under United Nations trusteeship 1946 – 1961</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• French Cameroon under the trusteeship system 1946-1960</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• British Southern Cameroons under the trusteeship system 1946-1961</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The part played by the UN in the progress of French Cameroon and Southern Cameroons to independence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political development and the reunification process (1954–1961)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• From reunification to the Republic of Cameroon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The Foumban Conference 1961</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Important figures in the history of Cameroon (part one): Ruben Um Nyobe, Andre-Marie Mbida, John Ngu Foncha, E.M.I. Endeley, S.T. Muna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Cameroon under Ahmadou Ahidjo’s presidency (1961–1981) |
| • The Federal Republic of Cameroon 1961-1972 |
| • The United Republic of Cameroon 1972-1984 |
| • Important figures in the history of Cameroon: Ahmadou Ahidjo |

| Cameroon under Paul Biya’s presidency (1981–) |
| • Important figures in the history of Cameroon: Paul Biya |
# Appendix 3c. Themes of the history of Cameroon in the SPH6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Textbook title</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-colonial Cameroon (1884)</strong>&lt;br&gt;10 %</td>
<td>The Sao civilization and the Kotoko kingdoms (ca 900-1500 AD)&lt;br&gt;• Arts and crafts, religion&lt;br&gt;• The decline of the Sao&lt;br&gt;• The Kotoko kingdoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Europeans in Africa (mainly the history of Africa, but the sub-titles contain history of Cameroon)</strong>&lt;br&gt;10 %</td>
<td>Missionary bodies that came to Cameroon: The Baptists, The Presbyterians, The Catholics, the Basel Mission&lt;br&gt;The slave trade (mainly African history)&lt;br&gt;• Slavery and slave trade in Cameroon (15\textsuperscript{th}-16\textsuperscript{th} centuries, trans-Atlantic slave trade)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Colonialisation and Decolonisation</strong>&lt;br&gt;84 %</td>
<td><strong>Cameroon under German administration (1884–1916)</strong>&lt;br&gt;• The Germans establish a protectorate in Cameroon: The annexation of Cameroon, Problems caused by the growing trade in Douala, The scramble for Cameroon to the annexation&lt;br&gt;• Some European explorers: the Germans, Competition and conflicts between the Germans and English in Duala&lt;br&gt;• The Douala war: Causes and course of the war, The English quit Cameroon&lt;br&gt;• German exploration in Cameroon: German explorers, German conflicts with the Cameroonians, The Mpawmanku wars, Dr. Eugene Von Zintgraff’s explorations in Cameroon, Achievements of the early German explorers in Cameroon, Results of the conflict between the Germans and the people of Cameroon&lt;br&gt;• Cameroon under German administration: The achievements of the Germans in Cameroon, Education, health, transport, trade, plantations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The First World War and the mandates system in Cameroon</strong>&lt;br&gt;10 %</td>
<td>The war in Cameroon, German retreat and defeat in Cameroon, Effects of the war in Cameroon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cameroon as a mandated territory</strong>&lt;br&gt;10 %</td>
<td>Cameroon under British mandate 1922-1946: the British achievements during the mandate period, Administration, Communication, Agriculture, Trade, Consequences of the plantations, Political development&lt;br&gt;Cameroon under French mandate: Administration, Social life, Education, Health, Communication, Agriculture, Taxation&lt;br&gt;The main achievements and failures of the mandate period (French and British)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cameroon in the Second World War</strong>&lt;br&gt;10 %</td>
<td>Cameroon contribution to the Allies during the war&lt;br&gt;The Brazzaville Conference 1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cameroon under United Nations Trusteeship (1946–1961)</strong>&lt;br&gt;10 %</td>
<td>Achievements of the trusteeship system in French Cameroon&lt;br&gt;Achievements of the Trusteeship system in British Cameroon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post colonial Cameroon 6%</td>
<td>The political changes in Cameroon from 1954 to 1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• British Southern Cameroons 1954-1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• French Cameroon 1956–1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Important figures in the history of Cameroon (part two): Ruben Um Nyobe, Andre-Marie Mbida, John Ngu Foncha, E.M.I. Endeley, S.T. Muba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cameroon under Ahmadou Ahidjo’s presidency (1961–1981)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• From Reunification to the Federal Republic of Cameroon 1961–1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Cameroon becomes a United Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Important figures in the history of Cameroon (part two): Ahmadou Ahidjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cameroon under Paul Biya’s presidency (1981–)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Important figures in the history of Cameroon (part two): Paul Biya</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
# Appendix 3d. Themes of the history of Cameroon in the OLH, Section A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Textbook title</th>
<th>Form 3, Ordinary Level History, Section A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-colonial Cameroon (-1884)</strong></td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon before colonial rule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
  - Early contacts between Cameroon and foreign peoples: The Carthaginians (5th century BC), The Trans-Saharan trade-routes, The Cameroon-Arab contacts (8th century), The Cameroon-Nigerian contacts, The Cameroon-European contacts (15th-20th centuries)  
  - European activities and motives of interest on the coast of Cameroon: The Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, the London Baptist Missionaries, the French, the Germans  
  - How Cameroon derived its name  
  - The arrival of early European missionaries  
  - Reasons why the coastal chiefs preferred English annexation, Why Britain was reluctant to annex Cameroon, Why Britain decided to change her attitude in favour of annexing Cameroon  
  - Why and how Britain, France and Germany scrambled to annex Cameroon |
| **Colonisation and Decolonisation** | 74% |
| Cameroon under German rule (1884–1916) |  
  - The German annexation of Cameroon: Reasons why Bismarck rejected demands for annexation before 1883, Why Bismarck changed his mind in favour of acquiring colonies, How Germany annexed Cameroon, The Germano-Duala treaty, Why Germany succeeded in annexing Cameroon, Reactions to the German annexation  
  - The consolidation of German rule in Cameroon: The Berlin conference and its impact on Cameroon, How Britain and Germany resolved their differences, How and why the Germans penetrated into/ expanded to the interior of Cameroon, The Brussels conference of 1890 and its impacts on Cameroon, Consequences of the German expansion and occupation of the interior, Problems the Germans encountered as they penetrated the interior  
  - German administration in Cameroon: Structure of administration, German governors and their contributions to the development of Cameroon, The contribution of Cameroonians to the German administration (collaboration)  
  - The contributions of the Germans to the economic and social development of Cameroon: Agriculture, Trade and commerce, Transport and communication, Social development  
  - Indigenous resistance to German rule in Cameroon: reasons for the resistances, major cases, How the Germans were able to defeat the indigenous groups, How and why some local tribal groups collaborated with the Germans |
| Cameroon and the First World War |  
  - Why and how the war was fought in Cameroon, Why the Germans resisted the Allies for long, Reasons why the Allies finally defeated the Germans, Effects of the war on Cameroon  
  - The condominium and the reasons for the attempt by Britain and France to establish a condominium in Cameroon, Reasons for the failure of the condominium  
  - How Cameroon was partitioned, The effects of the partition |
### Cameroon under French and British rule (1922-1945)
- Principles governing the British and French Mandates in Cameroon
- Cameroon under British mandate 1922-1945: Main features of British rule, Why Britain partitioned and administered British Cameroons as part of Nigeria, The British policy of indirect rule, British efforts towards political, social, economic development, Why and how Britain neglected the development of Southern Cameroons
- Cameroon under French mandate 1922–1945: Main features of administration, The French colonial policies in Cameroon (Assimilation and Association), The contribution of France towards the economic and social development of French Cameroon
- Opposition to French rule in Cameroon: causes and cases, How the French reacted to the indigenous resistances
- The development of nationalism in French Cameroon
- British and French mandates compared

### Cameroon and the II WW
- Why and how Cameroon was involved, Contributions of Cameroonians to British and French war efforts, Effects of the war on Cameroon
- British Southern Cameroons during the II WW: Why and how it was involved, Effects of the war on British Cameroons, The development of Southern Cameroonian nationalism
- French Cameroons in the II WW: Why and how it was involved, Effects of the war on the political development of French Cameroon
- Cameroon: From a mandate to a trust territory

### The United Nations in Cameroon 1946–1961
- Why and how the UN got involved in the decolonization of Cameroon

### French Cameroon under UN trusteeship 1946–1956
- The Brazzaville conference of 1944 and its impacts on French Cameroon
- The formation of political parties in French Cameroon
- The conflict between the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC) and the French authorities
- The role of the UN in the evolution of French Cameroon 1946-1956

### French Cameroon 1956–1960
- The Loi Cadre and its effects on French Cameroon
- The rise of Andre-Marie Mbida to Premiership
- The premiership of Ahmadou Ahidjo
- Factors that contributed to the independence of French Cameroon, ALCAM

### British Cameroons under UN trusteeship 1946–1954
- Factors responsible for the growth of nationalism in British Southern Cameroons
- The creation of political parties in Southern Cameroons
- Constitutional developments in British Southern Cameroons
- The Eastern regional crisis 1953
- The Lyttonron constitution 1954

### British Cameroons 1954–1961
- Endeley’s administration and policies 1954–1959
- The London constitutional conference 1957
Post colonial Cameroon

18 %

Cameroon under Ahmadou Ahidjo’s presidency (1961–1981)
- Problems that faced the government of Ahmadou Ahidjo in 1961: political, economic, social, Attempts to solve them (successes and failures)
- Moves towards a one-party state in Cameroon, Moves towards the creation of a unitary state or stages towards the abolition of the federal constitution, The referendum 20 May 1972
- Cameroon under the unitary system (1972–present), Why Ahidjo was successful in establishing a unitary constitution, Consequences of the change of constitution from federal to unitary (political, economic, socio-cultural)
- Ahidjo’s domestic politics: political, economic, social, cultural
- Cameroon’s foreign relation under Ahmadou Ahidjo (1960–1982)
- Ahidjo’s resignation: possible reasons

Cameroon under Paul Biya’s presidency (1981–)
- How and why Paul Biya rose to power
- Problems inherited by Biya from the Ahidjo administration
- Causes and effects of the Biya-Ahidjo rift
- Causes, course and consequences of the Coup d’etat of April 6 1984, reasons for the failure of the coup d’etat
- Biya’s domestic policies: political, economic, social, shortcomings
- The economic crisis of the 1980’s and 1990’s
- The rebirth of multi-party politics in Cameroon
- Cameroon’s foreign relations under Paul Biya 1982 – present