

## **The Scary Future of the Cameroon University System in its Bilingual Context Reflections from the Universities of Buea and Bamenda**

### **Abstract**

The emergence of a higher educational system in Cameroon saw the creation of the Cameroon federal university which following the country's constitutional formula, adopted a bilingual approach to integrate the two principal cultures that made up the country. In 1993, university reforms were put to ameliorate the difficulties facing higher education in Cameroon. This brought on board unilingual universities; a context within which the Universities of Buea, Ngaoundere and Bamenda were established. This paper examines the Universities of Buea and Bamenda Anglo-Saxon culture as entities wherein the bilingual aspirations of Cameroon are frustratingly exploited. It argues that the establishment of unilingual universities, such as those of Buea and Bamenda, in a country with bilingual structures that are not well fed, subjects one identity to the other and weakens the universities' ability to attend the country's higher education goals. It sustains that in the face of such lingual discrimination, the Cameroon university system breeds national division and hence disparities that do not fan scientific and bilingual progress in the country. It concludes that the exploitation of an Anglo-saxon principle as applied in these institutions frustrate their accurate emergence in the world of university and graduate competitiveness. The paper proposes that upgrading all state universities in Cameroon to a bilingual status will encourage inter-university competition, joint research and enhance cohesion among students as well as among dons.

**Key words:** Bilingualism, Competitiveness, Identity and Unilingual.

### **Introduction**

Education policy in Cameroon like elsewhere in Africa developed from colonial cultures which the African people inherited from their colonial masters. In the case of Cameroon, a bilingual system evolved from the system of colonial administration in which the country developed from 1884 to 1960. It is worth noting that the country was colonised by the Germans in 1884. In 1916, the Germans were ousted from the territory in the course of the First World War by a combined Anglo-French effort. The victorious powers after a failed condominium opted to partition the territory for effective wartime administration. In the partition, Britain got 1/5 of the territory composed of two discontinuous strips of land of about 90,000sqkm<sup>1</sup> while France got 4/5 corresponding to about 400,000sqkm. These terms were accepted by the post war settlement at Paris out of which was born the League of Nations that was given the mandate to oversee the administration of former vanquish territories. Cameroon being one therefore became a mandated territory under Britain and France. The two portions of the territory were administered from the cultural background of the administering authorities. At the end of the Second World War, The United Nations Organisation replaced the League of Nations and the UN Trusteeship Council took over the responsibilities formerly ensured by

the League of Nations Mandate Commission. Thus, it was within the brackets of the Trusteeship Council that independence was granted to French Cameroon. In the case of British Cameroon, independence was obtained through a UN organised plebiscite whose results implicated loss of British Northern Cameroon to Nigeria while British Southern Cameroon reunited with French Cameroon to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon with a bi-cultural constitution that adopted a bilingual status.

The bilingual status adopted by Cameroon at independence was expressed among other aspects, through the educational sector according to which two sub-systems of education emerged (English for West Cameroon and French for East Cameroon) at the elementary and secondary levels. For the provision of higher education suitable for the specific needs and realities of the newly independent nation, the Federal government established a University Complex in 1961 known as the National Institute for University Studies (Institut National d'Etudes Universitaires). Its activities started modestly in October 1961 with the assistance of the French Government. Its mandate was to prepare students for degrees in Education, Law, Economics and the Arts. Professional training programmes were developed at the same time through the School of Administration, School of Agriculture and the Military Academy. In 1962 the National Institute for University Studies evolved into the Federal University of Cameroon, created to take over the role of training senior cadres in Science, Education and Technology.<sup>2</sup> The influence of French presence in the country led to the adoption of the binary system of traditional universities and *grandes écoles* or specialised institutions. This system was meant to serve both the English-speaking and French-speaking Cameroonians.<sup>3</sup>

Other establishments were created and attached to the University of Yaoundé by 1967 among which were; the University Centre for Health Sciences (CUSS) and Institute of Management – Institut de l'Administration des Entreprises (IAE) in 1969, Ecole Supérieure Internationale de Journalisme de Yaoundé (ESIJY) in 1970, the Institute of International Relations (Institut des Relations Internationales de Yaoundé) and the National Advanced School of Engineering (Ecole Nationale Supérieure Polytechnique – ENSP) in 1971.<sup>4</sup> Both the traditional university and the *grand école* were all classified as bilingual and considering the demographic affluence of French speaking Cameroon, French speaking Cameroonians formed a majority of the teaching staff in all these institutions of higher learning. This became the first educational problem within a bilingual frame considering that students who emerged from the Anglo-Saxon styled pre-tertiary education recorded poor performances and low graduate rates which they blamed on language disparity and began pressing for reform in the higher education system. This paper therefore investigates the problems of higher education within a bilingual context and questions the extent to which higher education reforms have been able to address these worries. The paper posits that reforms in the higher education took half-baked majors in addressing worries emanating from the bilingual nature of the system. On this premise the paper asserts that reforms in the higher education system have failed to establish adequate grounds for the attainment of university teaching and learning goals within the nation's bilingual context thereby leaving a bleared future to the system.

### **The 1993 University Reforms**

The Cameroon university system like others in Africa was faced with a number of reformation demands from their very inceptions. It should be noted at this instance that the higher education system was primarily formulated to train national cadres for senior positions in the civil service which was and remains the major employer in Cameroon. This system of educational policy definition was converse to that within which Cameroonians had been trained abroad prior to independence. According to Chan et al, higher education provision should take into consideration a wide range of competency and generic skills that includes but are not limited to communication skills, problem-solving skills, self-directed learning skills, the ability to integrate ideas and concepts, and the capacity to work in teams and group environments.<sup>5</sup> Thus the educational system was not adequately adapted to suit the needs of Cameroon and Cameroonian students in particular.<sup>6</sup> The Association of American Colleges and Universities identified three goals students should develop by the completion of a U.S. bachelor's degree: (1) be informed by knowledge about the natural and social worlds, (2) be empowered through the mastery of intellectual and practical skills, and (3) be responsible for their personal actions and for civic values.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, the higher education policy in Cameroon did not adequately integrate the needs for mass education and excellence which could translate graduates into self-confident and civic responsible persons empowered by the mastery of intellectual and practical skills. This need for mass education in Cameroon is illustrated by the fact that when the Federal University of Cameroon opened its doors in 1962, it had an intake of 600 students. This figure rose to 7,000 in 1970, 18,000 in 1984, 32,000 in 1990, 45,000 in 1991 and over 50,000 in 1992.<sup>8</sup> This rising intake jeopardised excellence and expansionist efforts were made to redress the situation.

At the start of the 1977/78 academic year, the University of Yaoundé comprised ten organisational units comprising of; three faculties, four schools, one specialised centre and two institutes. In spite of this, student population was rising above infrastructure and staffing viability orchestrating numerous deficiencies among which was that of language use. To address the problem of student numerical explosion, four University Centres were created in 1977 with specific educational mandates: Buea University Centre for languages, translation/ interpretation, and the arts; Douala University Centre for Business Studies and the training of technical education teachers; Dschang University Centre for Agricultural Sciences; Ngaoundere University Centre for Food Science and Food Technology.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, these centres and specialised institutions could not solve the problem of overcrowding considering that entry positions were few and competitive; based on recruitment opportunities in the public service.<sup>10</sup>

The problem of student-lecturer ratio and congestion posed the problem of success rates which in 1992 stood at 30% resulting from congested lecture rooms and the problem of linguistic balance. Within the context of linguistic balance, the numerical superiority of French speaking lecturers made things worse as marginalisation was decried by English speaking students.<sup>11</sup> According to Tambi<sup>12</sup> and Njeck<sup>13</sup> at the University of Yaounde 80% of lectures are delivered in

French and only 20% in English. In the mist of these disparities, it became common for English speaking students to blame poor results to the fact that the professors lacked the linguistic competence to properly understand scripts in his second language. This provoked the rise of a series of strikes from English speaking students which Konings call; Anglophone Nationalist struggle.<sup>14</sup> As a result of these pressures and other weaknesses suffered by the system, the Cameroon university system was reformed. This reformation gave birth to five additional universities out of which three were bilingual and two others unilingual. Did variations in language options appropriately address the language problem?

### **Pitfalls of Bilingual Settings in the Cameroon University Milieu**

The Cameroon bilingual system has been classified as having adopted an official rather than an integral approach that could generate the interest of nationals into putting bilingualism in practice. To Ayafor, two languages became official languages in Cameroon as a bequeathed colonial policy acclaimed by decision makers at the time of reunification in 1961. These languages were thought to be neutral, thus, suitable for the typical political objective of holding the two states together.<sup>15</sup> This view illustrates that the need for the integration of the bicultural nation through bilingualism was not intended to be a language policy worthy of being defined and pursued in linguistic principles. Bases on the nation's decision maker's objectives of bilingualism; it did not receive any reasonable attention in the education sector which could contextually boast academics. Echu emphasises this in the following words:

*En préférant ainsi le français et l'anglais, les autorités camerounaises ont été sûrement influencées par les mêmes critères ayant motivé le choix des deux langues au lendemain des indépendances: résoudre le problème de plurilinguisme existant dans le pays, préserver l'unité nationale dans une nouvelle fédération encore fragile, continuer la politique coloniale en matière de politique linguistique.<sup>16</sup>*

Thus the high concentration on integrative politics in Cameroon exposed leadership to the risk of establishing half-baked language policies in the academia which was not sustained by staff balance such as described by Ngwana:

Bilingualism as a language policy in the university was not effective since teaching was carried out predominantly in French thereby creating a situation of imbalance between the two languages. The English-speaking students increasingly felt marginalised because this situation also caused them to register very high rates of failure in examinations.<sup>17</sup>

By this system, French speaking lecturers took a bulk of the lectures due to their numerical superiority. And because they were inapt to deliver lectures as well evaluate in English, students who graduated from the Anglophone subsystem of education recorded low success rates and consequently dropped out. The problem of French language dominance was further compounded by that of library facilities. The about 80% French speaking lectures it can be assumed meant approximately the same percentage of documents in French in the university libraries. These instances inspired what Echu like Konings describe as Anglophone Nationalism<sup>18</sup> characterised by the struggle for equality of learning opportunities. Unfortunately, the inability of policy makers to immediately redress the situation due to

the lack of necessary staff instigated widespread discontent among English speaking Cameroonians who resorted to strikes. During these strikes, the academic environment became unsafe as demonstrating students scared even the administrative staff; resulting to the occupation of the campus by forces of the law and order as was the case in 1983 and 1991. Given these circumstances, the bilingual status of the country and of the academic system which would have served the greater interest of the nation through inculcating civic responsibility among students rather became a basis for which an identity bloc developed to challenge the status quo resulting in disruptions in academic programs.

The development of an identity bloc reflects what Echu upholds that “The Anglophones have remained very jealous about maintaining their geographical territory within the Cameroon state.”<sup>19</sup> This, they do by trying to retain the cultural aspects which colonialism bequeathed to them such as the English language and an Anglo-Saxon styled education. It was in this context that they decried French language domination and advocated an Anglo-Saxon educational system in the higher education milieu as it existed in the primary and secondary education levels wherein they hoped to guarantee educational favours to their off-springs. Their argument is not judgemental, rather it is constitutional as the 1961 constitution in its article 1, paragraph 2 made provisions for English and French to be official languages in Cameroon with equal status. This was reiterated in article 1, paragraph 3 of the Cameroon Constitution of January 18, 1996. These struggle among other non-linguistic exigencies such as the problem of over-crowding, definition of teaching staff career and reformulation of the higher education goals resulted in the establishment of unilingual universities in Cameroon with effect from 1993. How apt was the introduction of unilingual options to redress the situation?

### **The Unilingual Settings in the Cameroon University Milieu**

The reforms of 1993 which apart from reorganising the Cameroon university system resulted in the raising of five university centres to universities and introduced two unilingual universities. These were the universities of Buea and Ngaoundere which were Anglophone and francophone respectively. In 2010, a presidential decree raised the Bambili University Center which before now was host to the Higher Teacher Training College (HTTC) and the Higher Technical Teacher Training College (HTTTC) to a university in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. According to Ngwana, the birth of unilingual universities actually helped in increasing university success rate in the country. Students’ success rate which in 1992 stood at 30% in the then university of Yaounde generally observed an increase as in 1995/96 that of the University of Buea was 70%, University of Dschang 48%, and University of Yaounde one 48%. Thus the reforms did well in shifting success rates upward.<sup>20</sup> The increase in success rate was not however directly translated into increase post university success rates considering that in the professional institutions which till present are the major access routes to public service in Cameroon were French language dominated and considering that the public service is the biggest

employer in Cameroon. In addition to French speaking staff dominance in these institutions of higher learning, access was a great problem as competitive entrance examinations in institutions like ENSET Douala and Polytechnic were often in French language. Therefore, the policy of introducing unilingual universities did not establish any safe haven for English speaking students in the country within a context where higher education was designed to train cadres for the public service. It is worthy to emphasise that students' academic efforts are primarily guided by the need to acquire a better job, to earn a good salary, to gain an appreciation of ideas, and to prepare for graduate or professional school.<sup>21</sup> As such, the reform failed to give the students their academic desires. What then were the goals of the reform?

Enshrined in the 1993 reform objectives were the need to; Grant universities more academic and management autonomy by providing basic infrastructure and finances, provide a more conducive environment for teaching and research by creating a better atmosphere for teachers, teaching and research and revive as well as maximise inter-university and international co-operation.<sup>22</sup> These objectives were conversely challenged through the establishment of unilingual institutions in two instances. In the first, the introduction of universities with autonomy paved the way for university systems privatisation wherein some institutions were made to be unilingual against state policy of "official bilingualism". In the second, teaching and research became rather complex as young researchers who emerged from these unilingual universities had difficulties to exploit research infrastructure outside their language of university training. This did not encourage cooperation between universities of diverse institutional systems and language policy within the same national territory and especially within the limited resources reserved for education by policy makers.

Another plague to the unilingual system was quality of teaching. As already mentioned, one of the problems of higher education in Cameroon prior to 1993, was that of imbalance of lecturers between English speaking and French speaking resulting principally from demographic differences. This problem as already stated created the problem of drop outs. The creation of unilingual universities with emphasis on Anglo-Saxon universities exacerbated this problem as lecturers of French expression were still recruited to teach in these universities and in English language. In the case of the University of Bamenda wherein creation coincided with mass recruitment into the Cameroon public service of 25000 young people, a thousand of who were designated to higher education as teaching staff. Of this number, about one hundred were posted to teach in the Anglo-Saxon University of Bamenda. Surprisingly, over 60% were French speaking and were obliged to lecture in English, a language they did not master.

Language weakness on the part of the new recruits obliged some of them to adopt coping strategies. In this way, they prepared lecture notes and simply dictated them to the students. This method of teaching did not establish close contact between the lecturers and the students which according to Graham Gibbs is a major dimension of high quality learning.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, cognitive academic engagement which according to the National Student Forum Annual Report of 2010 requires

that lecturers are trained supported and incentivised to teach well and be able to inspire and challenge<sup>24</sup> was not attained. In this way, the goal of teaching was not fully attained by teachers as they were deprived of expressing acquired as well as desired knowledge through language barriers.

Relative to the foregoing, quality education which Hawes and Stephens define as a process that requires “efficiency in meeting the setgoals, relevance to human and developmental needs andconditions, something more in relation to the pursuit ofexcellence and human betterment”<sup>25</sup> which to Bandaryencompasses a range ofelements including; the level of student achievement; theability and qualification of staff; the effectiveness of teaching, and the relevance of programmesto the needs of students and the nation in an emergingglobal knowledge economy<sup>26</sup> among others were not satisfactorily attained. In this pursuit of excellence, education requires communication by way of aptly used and understandable language expressed by both learners and trainers. The policy of training as well as staff recruitment within the unilingual context to satisfy a bilingual state policy particularly in the Universities ofBuea and Bamenda jeopardised quality learning and outcomes. This derives amplification from the need for apt contact which could drive the lecturer from being a transmitter of knowledge to being a mediator in the construction of knowledge. According to Ombe et al, “This may enable teachers to become agentsfor fostering the development of social skills and creatinga learning environment that will encourage young people to live together and to become responsible citizens.”<sup>27</sup> Considering the absence of these qualities what does the future reserve for the Cameroon higher education system in its bilingual context?

### **Implications of Linguistic Policy and Practice in Cameroon Universities**

The bilingual construct of Cameroon as a matter of policy, with the attempt of communicating through the educational system, herein referred to as a communication channel, leaves very little admirable implications in terms of matching policy and practice. This stems from the basis of adopting a bilingual policy for Cameroon which rather than being exploited for inclusion and national benefit, it was designed by decision makers to suit the political objectives of holding the two cultural identities together.<sup>28</sup> With no thought of the implication of failure in the effort to attain this objective, policy makerswithin thehigher education setting have rather made bilingualism scary.

To begin with, the bilingual system of higher education in Cameroon seemingly did not take into consideration the need to set clearly articulated institutional missions that stipulate in no vague terms the kind of person they wished their educational system could produce which according to Mooko et al is a major challenge facing African nations<sup>29</sup> Within linguistic brackets therefore, students of unilingual universities will find it difficult to attain their academic aspirations given that they are denied access to bilingual university studies. This will expand into difficulties of competing equally with students from universities that have adopted a bilingual character and therefore have the aptitude to produce graduates for a wider world and a bilingual Cameroon. This becomes more emphatic when considering that public service institutions are generally bilingual with French language dominance. In-competitiveness could leave the impression that students from unilingual

universities such as the Universities of Buea and Bamenda are less apt and therefore scare young high school graduates from seeking admissions into the institutions in the future.

Also, the creation of unilingual universities, and by virtue of the mission assigned to them, it could be inferred that there was the political will to adopt an alternative higher education model in the country (i.e. the Anglo-Saxon system). This implies that the Anglo-American model through the Universities of Buea and Bamenda will complement the existing French model. Since the problem of the system has always been attributed to the inability to shift from *policy transfer* to *policy learning*, the 1993 reform is susceptible to provide an opportunity for a more consensual decision-making.<sup>30</sup> However, the adoption of the Anglo-Saxon model with emphasis on the use of English language in a bilingual styled country rather expands frustration on the expression and exploitation of academic opportunities. This is particularly true because of the nine institutions of the University of Bamenda for instance, three are public service schools (HTTC, HTTTC and the Faculty of Health Science) and two others are professional training schools (College of Technology and Higher Institute of Commerce and Management). These institutions have the responsibility of providing cadres for both the public service and the private sector in bilingual Cameroon. In a country with a dominant French speaking geographical sphere which in this case corresponds to demographic dominance, the fear is that the trained graduates will fail to effectively deliver due to failures in linguistic links. In this situation graduates will not effectively deliver the services for which they were trained and employed and the university's ability to develop cognitive skills will remain questioned with no reference to the official policy that influences its being.

Accruing from this is the fact that English and French are considered to be equal in status as per the Cameroon Constitution, yet French language has a *de facto* dominance over English in the areas of administration, education and the media. With this dominance concentration on English as a language of communication in the two universities in Anglophone Cameroon will jeopardise the emergence of the Anglophone community in a context where home proximity and the desire to hold up to a strong Anglo-Saxon identity cajole most parents of Anglophone Cameroon to send their children to these institutions as opposed to bilingual universities. Language weakness certainly will make access to further education within the national territory complex. This complexity stems from the fact that any well-articulated social science subject of research covering the entire Cameroon territory will warrant the use of both languages at the level of documentary and archival research as well as interviewing and other research interactions.

A look into the problem of mass education leaves another fear. The 1993 reforms prescribed that universities should admit students depending on available infrastructure as well as available human and financial resource. Although the universities were given the autonomy to set their own intake levels, they remain under enormous social and political pressure to admit students in excess of these capacities.<sup>31</sup> However policy might have designed this, while the bilingual universities give open access to traditional university faculties, the Universities of Buea and Bamenda under the cover

of Anglo-saxon tradition are forced by lack of facilities to adopt a strict cut-off policy in their admission requirements.<sup>32</sup> This opposes state policy of mass education. Such a policy still eliminates a substantial number of qualified English-speaking Cameroonians from taking advantage of the institution. Meanwhile the other universities have a completely open door policy. This indicates that the English speaking population is gradually still being forced to register in the French language dominated universities with the same implications for their rates of success as earlier discussed.

Additionally, the strict cut-off policy in its admission requirements discriminates on English speaking students to the advantage of French speaking students in a situation wherein English speaking students who did not make a pass in the English language at the Ordinary Level examination cannot gain admission into the universities of Buea and Bamenda whereas French speaking candidates with complete French educational backgrounds are given access to the same institutions on grounds that they are evaluated by the average system while the English speaking students are evaluated by the Subject system. This could be the cause of future crises as was the case in the 1980s and 1990s in the then university of Yaounde wherein language disparity resulted to student strikes and consequential property damage. In this regard the university milieu became a source of public disorder and national instability which it actually has the duty to protect through the civic engagement goal of university education.

Currently, one principal issue that places the university of Bamenda in a wanting situation is the writing of term papers by students who have spent seven years of secondary education in francophone colleges and then three years in French dominated bilingual universities in English language to meet up with what the authorities call Anglo-Saxon stands. These projects in the case of HTTTC are written in an English language that is not communicative and placed on library shelves for younger students and other researchers. What future does this leave? In HTTC, it was recently resolved that students present their term papers in the language they best understand. While this solves the problem of language lapses, it establishes clashes in policy definition and application. This emanates from the fact that to solve the problem of supervision, the institution opened up for French lecturers without terminal degrees to co-supervise post graduate term papers written by French speaking students which is not within the prescriptions of higher education policy. While this paper does not have the aptness to query this clash between policy and practice as orchestrated by a bilingual system, it observes that such clashes could result in professional mal practices.

### **Conclusion**

The future of the university system within the Cameroon bilingual context therefore scares. This scary nature of the future develops from two perspectives which are the inclusive and the exclusive perspectives. By inclusion, the paper stresses on the fact that bilingual institutions failed to adequately provide knowledge in the context of cognitive learning. This emanated and continues to emanate from one language persistently dominating the other within state policy and resource provision. In this regard mass education disregards quality and the outcomes of success rates both at graduate level

andat after school job engagement. While this seems to be personal to the laureates in question, the long term repercussion is distrust in the university system as a viable source of human resource provision for both the public and private sector. On the exclusive perspective, unilingual institutions do not serve as veritable sources of knowledge for national well-being as they restrict access to only those who can study in English language. The denial of access to non-English speaking citizens limits interaction and reduces the chances of the unilingual universities' outreach activities which are veritable outlets for knowledge reinforcement in the higher educational system. Again this mars the attainment of goals on the part of graduates from these institutions who during training do not effectively benefit from interactive teaching and learning that could result to establishing coaching relations between learners and trainers that are necessary for improving laureates' productivity on the job. Hence, the exclusivist policy of unilingual institutions is likely to leave a negative impression. The right balance between preserving national identity and entering the global economy therefore demands a skilfully designed curriculum with strong emphasis on educational equality and multiculturalism

### Endnotes

- 
- <sup>1</sup>G. Echu, "The Language Question in Cameroon", available at [http://www.linguistik-online.com/18\\_04/echu.html](http://www.linguistik-online.com/18_04/echu.html), p. 21
- <sup>2</sup> ADEA, *Reforming a National System of Higher Education: The Case of Cameroon*, (Washington, D.C.; ADEA Working Group on Higher Education, 1999), p. 2
- <sup>3</sup>T. A. Ngwana, *The Implementation of the 1993 Higher Education Reforms in Cameroon: Issues and Promises* (Lincoln School of Management, University of Lincolnshire & Humberside, UK, (nd) p. 2.
- <sup>4</sup> ADEA, *Reforming a National System of Higher Education*, p. 2
- <sup>5</sup> R. Y. Chan et al, "What is the purpose of higher education?: A comparison of institutional and student perspectives on the goals and purposes of completing a bachelor's degree in the 21st century", Paper presented at the annual American Education Research Association (AERA) conference (Philadelphia: PA: April 5, 2014), p. 5.
- <sup>6</sup>Ibid .
- <sup>7</sup>Association of American Colleges and Universities.*A crucial moment: College learning and democracy's future*. (Washington, D.C.; Report of the National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement, 2012), p. 11.
- <sup>8</sup>MINESUP (Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur).*La Réforme universitaire au Cameroun*(Yaounde: CEPER, 1993).
- <sup>9</sup> ADEA, *Reforming a National System of Higher Education*, p. 5
- <sup>10</sup>Ngwana, *The Implementation of the 1993 Higher Education Reforms in Cameroon*, p. 2
- <sup>11</sup>Echu, "The Language Question in Cameroon", p. 26
- <sup>12</sup> J. Tambi, *Received Language Bilingualism in Cameroon: A Study of Functions and Attitudes*. DES Thesis, Université de Yaoundé, 1973.
- <sup>13</sup> A. F. Njeck, *Official Bilingualism in the University of Yaounde : Some Educational and Social Issues*. Maîtrise Dissertation, Université de Yaoundé, 1992.
- <sup>14</sup> P. Konings, "Anglophone University Students and Anglophone Nationalist struggle in Cameroon", in J. Abbink and I. V. Kessel(Eds), *Vanguard Or Vandals: Youth, Politics And Conflict In Africa (African Dynamics)* ( Brill Academic Pub, 2004), p.
- <sup>15</sup>I. M.Ayafor, "Official Bilingualism in Cameroon: Instrumental or Integrative Policy?" In James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister, Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan (eds), *Proceedings of the 4th*

- 
- International Symposium on Bilingualism (Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 2005), pp. 123-142, P. 133
- <sup>16</sup> G. Echu, “Le Bilinguisme Officiel au Cameroun: Critiques et Perspectives.” In G. Echu, & A.W. Grundstrom, (eds.) *Official Bilingualism and Linguistic Communication in Cameroon* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).189-201.p. 7.
- <sup>17</sup> Ngwana, *The Implementation of the 1993 Higher Education Reforms in Cameroon*, p. 3
- <sup>18</sup> Echu, “The Language Question in Cameroon”, p. 2
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 25
- <sup>20</sup> Ngwana, *The Implementation of the 1993 Higher Education Reforms in Cameroon*, p. 5
- <sup>21</sup> Chan et al, “What is the purpose of higher education?”, p. 8.
- <sup>22</sup> ADEA, *Reforming a National System of Higher Education*, p. 9.
- <sup>23</sup> Business, Innovation and Skills, “Higher Education: Students at the Heart of the System”, available at, at <http://www.bis.gov.uk>. p. 26-27.
- <sup>24</sup> Business, Innovation and Skills, “Higher Education: Students at the Heart”, p. 27.
- <sup>25</sup> H. Hawes, and D. Stephens, *Questions of Quality: Primary Education and Development*(Essex, England: Longman, 1990), p. 11.
- <sup>26</sup> M. S. Bandary, “Meeting the Challenges: The Development of Quality Assurance in Oman’s Colleges of Education”, *Higher Education*, Vol. 50, pp. 181–195, 2005, p. 185.
- <sup>27</sup> Z. A. Ombe et al, “Innovation in Teacher Training in Sub-Saharan Africa” in United Nations University, *Revitalizing Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa*(Tokyo, 2009), p. 93.
- <sup>28</sup> I. M. Ayafor, “Official Bilingualism in Cameroon”, p. 133
- <sup>29</sup> T. Mooko et al, “Policies and Reforms of Educational Systems in Africa: in United Nations University”, *Revitalizing Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa*, (Tokyo, 2009), p. 12.
- <sup>30</sup> Ngwana, *The Implementation of the 1993 Higher Education Reforms in Cameroon*, p. 7
- <sup>31</sup> ADEA, *Reforming a National System of Higher Education*, p. 13
- <sup>32</sup> Ngwana, *The Implementation of the 1993 Higher Education Reforms in Cameroon*, p. 6