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**ETHNO REGIONAL DEMANDS AND NATION
BUILDING IN CAMEROON**

**Hazırlayan
Zouberou WOUKOUO NSANGOU**

**Danışman
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Mehmet İnanç ÖZEKMEKÇİ**

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Zouberou WOUKOUO NSANGOU



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Thesis prepared by
Zouberou WOUKOUO NSANGOU

Supervisor
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Mehmet İnanç
ÖZEKMEKÇİ

Head of the Political Science
And Public Administration Department
Doç. Dr. Mustafa DEMİRCİ

KABUL ONAY SAYFASI

M. İsmail ÖZKEMERCI danışmanlığında tarafından hazırlanan
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JÜRİ:

Danışman

Yrd. Doç. Dr. M. İsmail ÖZKEMERCI

Üye

Doç. Dr. A. Alihan ÇELİK

Üye

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Fatih Ertaç

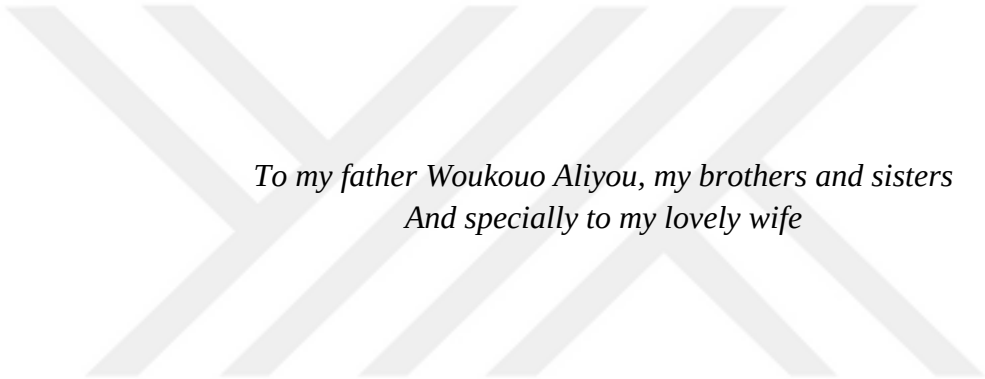
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Enstitü Müdürü



DEDICATION



*To my father Woukouo Aliyou, my brothers and sisters
And specially to my lovely wife*

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ABSTRACT

As every country around the world, national identity is at the heart of politics in Cameroon. Luc Sindjoun, professor of political science at the University of Yaoundé in Cameroon and former President of African Association of Political Science from 2001 to 2003, said about this phenomena that, national identity is the golden calf of contemporary political societies.

However, the phenomenon of claims based on the ethnic or regional belongings has taken an important proportion in Cameroon and seems to challenge national identity. This work is based on the following assumption; there is an antagonist relation between the desire of national identity construction and the regular manipulation of the ethnics groups or the massive politization of ethnic groups in Cameroon.

This study contributes to the comprehension of the post-colonial states in Africa in general and Cameroon in particular which constitutes our case study. It permits to understand, interpret and explain the inter-relationships between ethnicity and the problems arising due to the construction of national identity in Cameroon in the context of multiple ethnic groups within the State.

This work explored different stages within the construction process of Cameroonian national identity from the colonial period to present day and also outlines the factors that constituted and still constitute that identity. This study also questions a form of ethno-regional claims introduced in the political field known as the “memorandum” which is a form of political participation. The study brings memorandum closer to national identity and established a relation to show that this form of political participation weakened national identity. The national identity constitutes the guarantee of stability and national unity.

The aim of this study is to bring out the negative impact of ethnic politization of national identity in Cameroon. Equally, to show that governmental policies based on the ethnics claims doesn't contribute to strengthen national unity and national identity.

Keywords: Cameroon, Ethno-regional demands, National Identity building.

ÖZET

Tüm dünyada olduğu gibi, Kamerun'da da ulusal kimlik siyasetin merkezinde yer alır. Yaoundé Üniversitesi, Siyaset Bilimi Profesörü ve Afrika Siyaset Bilimi Birliği eski Başkanı (2001-2003) Luc Sindjoun, bu konu hakkında şunlar ifade etmektedir : Ulusal kimlik çağdaş siyasal toplumların dokunulmaz kutsal nesnesidir.

Etnik ya da bölgesel aidiyete dayalı iddialar Kamerun kamuoyunda önemli bir yer tutmakta ve de ulusal kimliği tehdit etmektedir. Bu çalışma, Kamerun'da ulusal kimlik inşası arzusu ile etnik grupların kitlesel siyasallaşması arasında antagonistik bir ilişki olduğu varsayımına dayanmaktadır.

Bu çalışma ile genel olarak Afrika'nın postkolonyal durumunu ve özelde de bizim örnek olayımız olan Kamerun'u anlamaya katkı sağlaması amaçlanmaktadır. Bu çalışma, çok sayıda etnik grubun. Kamerun Devleti'ndeki varlıkları bağlamında, etnisite ile ulusal kimlik inşası dolayısıyla ortaya çıkan problemlerin karşılıklı ilişkisini anlamaya, yorumlamaya ve açıklamaya imkan verir.

Bu çalışma, kolonyal dönemden günümüze değin Kamerun ulusal kimliğinin inşası ile ilgili farklı aşamaları inceler ve ayrıca ulusal kimliği inşa eden ve etmekte olan faktörleri ana hatları ile ortaya koyar. Bu çalışma ayrıca bir siyasal katılım formu olan ve siyasal alanda memorandum olarak bilinen olguya dair etnik-bölgesel iddialar bütününe sorgular. Memorandum ile ulusal kimlik arasında ilişkiye bakıldığında, bir siyasal katılım formu olarak memorandumun, istikrarın ve ulusal birliğinin sigortası olan ulusal kimliği zayıflatığı iddiası tartışılmaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın amacı Kamerun'da etnik siyasallaşmanın ulusal kimlik üzerindeki olumsuz etkilerini açıklamaya matuftur. Aynı şekilde, etnik taleplere dayalı devlet politikalarının ulusal birliği ve kimliği güçlendirmedeğini göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Kamerun, etnik-yerel talepler, ulusal kimlik inşası

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.E.F :	Afrique Equatoriale Française
CAFE:	Cercle Des Amis de la Foret [Association of Eastern Region People]
DCK:	Dynamique Culturelle Kirdi (DCK) [Kirdi Association People]
K.N.D.P:	Kamerun National Democratic Party
L.N:	League of Nations
NWELA:	North -West elite Association
SWELA:	South West Elite Association
U.N:	United Nations
U.P.C:	Union des Populations Du Cameroun [Cameroon Union Peoples Party]
CPDM:	Cameroon People's Democratic Movement
SDF:	Social Democratic Front
UDC:	Union Démocratique du Cameroun [Cameroon Democratic Union]
UNDP:	Union Nationale pour la Démocratie et le Progrès
SCNC:	Southern Cameroon National Council

INTRODUCTION

The interest that justifies the choice of this theme is both academic and personal. It is a quest to understand the political system of Cameroon by investigating on the mechanisms of construction and production of the political elite of Cameroon. It is a specific way to define the elements of national identity of this country, to identify the threats which lay upon, including ethno regional political actions mobilized by the political entrepreneurs. In order to lay the seeds and enter into the core of our subject, the preamble of the constitution seems to be indicative. The constitution of the Republic of Cameroon opens as follows: *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; Jealous of our hard-won independence and resolved to preserve same.*¹

The preamble of the constitution gives us immediate focus on the factors, the nature, the history and the future challenges of the national identity of Cameroon. Cameroon is a multicultural country where there is coexistence between different cultures, ethnic and linguistic groups. The actors involved in the process of formation of this identity are equally aware and conscious of the fact that the unity of the country is neither gained nor achieved. This inspires Cameroonian people in their willingness to build a nation. There are aware that its huge diversity constitutes a challenge in the consolidation of its unity and construction of the country. The diversity could equally constitute a factor of rivalries amongst different ethnic groups, hence questioning the notion of collective identity.

¹ Law No. 96-06 of 18 January 1996 to amend the Constitution of 2 June 1972

At the immediate observation of the Cameroonian political arena, the indicators seem to show that the principles outlined in this preamble concerning the national identity and its construction are threatened by some ethno-regional claims structure around a new phenomenon called “Memorandum”. This phenomenon tends to question the principle of fraternity, prioritized allegiance to the country and even unity which is the factors structuring the national identity of Cameroon.

Cameroon after the acquisition of its independence, like the majority of other African states, engaged in a process of construction and modernization of the newly created state, by responding to elements and attributes that constitute a modern state. One of the principal objectives fixed by Cameroon is to work towards the consolidation of the Cameroonian nation or the national identity of Cameroon. After the 1990s, the return of democracy in the political scene of Cameroon modified the paradigm in the management of ethnic groups. This democracy promoted the freedom of speech and association, this new approach has led to the formation of ethnic-regional associations and formation of political parties’ base on ethnic or regional identity. For instance, electoral behavior reflected this ethnic and regional belonging, as the electorate voted for candidates for which they had ethnic or regional ties. The electoral programs were built upon regional or ethnic claims with political leaders defending the interests of their respective ethnic groups.

There was a great contrast in the political life of Cameroon between the pre-independence and post-independence. The single party prohibited any form of ethnical expression. Ethnic considerations were far from the political sphere due to the imperative objectives of construction and consolidation of the young State. This was the official position which was also largely contested. According to the contestants they were just measured to reinforce the power of the President.

Cameroon has more than 200 ethnic groups, besides the colonial heritage of languages inherited from colonial masters France and Great Britain. But, the nature of the relation existing between the ethno-regional claims and the collective national identity became a subject of common rivalry in the construction of national unity.

Based on this, many questions have to be asked. Firstly, what can be the impact of ethno-regional demands via memorandum using to national identity? Hence, what is a Memorandum and what is the role play by the memorandum in the political scene in

Cameroon? All these questions lead us to a fundamental question, which is to know; how is ethno-regional diversity managed in Cameroon?

To answer these interrogations, we opted for various interviews, surveys, documentary analysis and the analysis of the content of the memoranda. In general opinion, memorandum has a lot of sense and meanings, because of the theoretical changes in the practice of politics in Cameroon. Having Cameroon as a case study, this work analyses the memoranda as the expression of an important mutation in the political participation. In a more practical way, the answers to these questions shall be constituted as follows.

In the first chapter, which deals with the analysis of the theoretical approaches on nationalism and the question of national identity, literature on the approaches regarding the study of nationalism (modernism, primordialism, ethnosymbolism) and also the concept of identity will be reviewed. This literature review allows an overview of the main theoretical tendencies at the level of the nationalism and its constitution.

The second chapter will present the panoramic view of Cameroon by highlighting the different stages in the building of the Cameroonian national identity. This permits us to identify the different factors or elements which constitute national identity throughout its history, and this construction was marked by continuity but also by breaks in its process.

The third chapter explained the history, origin and claims that constitute the “memorandum”. And in the second section of this chapter, we will find out the consequences of this memorandum on national unity, on patriotism and finally on citizenship.

The chapter four outlines the result of inquiries; survey; and interviews in order to prove that ethno-regional demands are not the democratic because it is just an action of some political elites, consequently impact negatively the national identity building in Cameroon. Thus, by considering the scope of research and the result of investigations on the perception that Cameroonians have on the relationship between national identity and ethno-regional identities. The final part contains conclusions and observations, we noticed after the inquiry.

CHAPTER ONE

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. Debate on National Identity and Nationalism

For a long time nationalism has never been conceptualized in the same way as theories or approaches such as liberalism, socialism, capitalism or communism, which have raised intense intellectual debates on the conceptualization and the applicability of these concepts. The academic studies of nationalism have intensified in the twentieth century, but nationalism as a social ideology and political movement, has been more evident since the end of the eighteenth century.²

Anthony Smith defines nationalism as “an ideological movement for maintaining and attaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation”.³ Several books on national identity and nationalism have been published. These concepts raised important questions on academic, political and social sphere. Considering multiple research areas involved in this subject, it is difficult to bring out a consensus on the definition of national identity. The present work will mainly be based on the analysis of theoretical framework on nationalism and national identity. The objective here is to compare different theories and major debates on nationalism and outline the elements that will enable us to understand the construction of Cameroonian national identity. We will develop in this section primordialist, modernist and ethnosymbolist approaches towards nationalism.

² Özkırımlı Umut, *Theories of Nationalism A critical Introduction*, Second Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, UK 2010, p. 9

³ Leerssen, Joep, *National Thought in Europe*, Amsterdam University Press, 2006, p15

1.1.1. Primordialist Approach

The term primordialism gathered several authors with different conceptions of nation and nationalism. Despite their differences of opinion, all of them insist on one way or another on ethnicity as a causal link in analyzing the development of nations and nationalism. According to them, nationalism is understood as a late development of much older processes of ethnicity.⁴ Primordialist argues that a nation is not an "invention" or a "dream" but is a reality and this reality goes beyond the boundaries of modernity.

According to Geertz (1963) referred by Viera, a primordial attachment means one that stems from the 'givens' or more precisely, the assumed givens of the social existence of humans. 'Givenness' is immediate contiguity and kin connection, but also being born into a particular community, religion, culture, and then it is the mother tongue, and sharing the same social practices.⁵

Primordialist approaches contend that ethnic bonds are 'natural', fixed by the basic experiences that human beings undergo within their families and other primary groups. Edward Shils (1957) was the first to express this idea when he remarked that in family attachments there is a significant «relational quality» that can only be called primordial. And this is because there is an ineffable significance attributed to the ties of blood.⁶

Several approaches exist in primordialist thesis for explaining the origin of the nation, even if all of them admit that the nation has a primary origin in the sense that it is not a human construction. Nevertheless, some authors believe that the nation is not a construction of modernity but an entity that has been formed out of the continual

⁴ Hearn, Jonathan, *Rethinking Nationalism: a Critical Introduction*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 20.

⁵ Viera Bacova, *The construction of National Identity on Primordialism and Instrumentalism* Institute of Social Sciences, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Karpatsk- 5, 040 01 Košice, Slovakia, 1998 p.31

⁶ Josep R. Llobera, *Recent Theories of Nationalism*, Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, 1999, p. 2

developments of society and therefore a natural evolution.⁷ Indeed this thesis has three approach, socio-biological, culturalist and perenialism approaches.

1.1.1.1. Biological Approach

The biological primordialists argue that the nation is genetically explainable and can be studied only with the aid of a biological analysis frame. According to this approach, the nation is actually only an extension of small communities, clans and families in which the human has operated since the early time. Anthropologist Pierre L. Van Der Berghe is the main advocate of this approach. According to him, the human behavior must be interpreted in an evolutionary framework of genes and environment as basic factors of analysis. “Our behavior, just as much as our anatomy, evolved by natural selection [...] there must be a biological basis for behavior as well as an environmental one, and the crux of the understanding behavior lies in the unravelling of the complex interplay of genes and environment”.⁸ In addition, the biological primordialist claim that “ethnic groups and nations should be seen as forms of extended kin groups, and that both nations and ethnic groups, along with 'races', must be ultimately derived from individual genetic reproductive drives”.⁹

Several criticisms have been made on this approach. Most nationalism specialists object the arguments raised by Van Der Berghe by highlighting the major differences at all levels that exist between a modern nation and a clan or family. For example how do we explain existence of multicultural and multiethnic nations while indicator can't demonstrate that members of these nations come from the same ancestor? Wars, stream migration and interethnic marriages has become a common practice amongst human species and render all attempts obsolete to explain the organic formation of social groups beyond the family context or clan mainly due to the fluidity and flexibility between nations.

⁷ Margareta Mary Nikolas, *False Opposites in Nationalism: An Examination of the Dichotomy of Civic Nationalism and Ethnic Nationalism in Modern Europe*. Master thesis, Centre for European Studies Monash University 1998

⁸Hearn. p. 358

⁹Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*, New York: Routledge, 1998, p. 147

1.1.1.2.Cultural Approach

According to primordialist authors who base their analysis on culture, it is essential to emphasize on the cultural roots of the first communities in order to explain the birth of nations. According to Clifford Geertz, this feature was particularly present in the case of several Asian and African States. The members of these populations were bound together not so much by civic ties of the modern state, but just by "cultural" elements such as language, customs, race and religion.¹⁰ According to Geertz, these elements (language, customs, race and religion) are in perpetual conflicts with the major changes involved in the construction of a national community. Thus, it is in this context that, the newly formed states in Asia and Africa after World War II faced chronic internal problems, «Between the needs to maintain a socially ratified personal identity and the desire to construct a powerful national community».¹¹ The critics that can be given to this conception are, how can we explain the linguistic, religious or migration changes arising as a result of changes in the culture of individuals and in the groups of individuals? For a culture to be essential "cultural elements" described by Geertz to be taken into consideration and it is needed to be fixed so as to be repeated in time and space to insure culture historically.

1.1.1.3.Perennialist Approach

The third grouped of authors within the primordialist approach, known also as Perennialists, retrace the nation to a pre-modern era as an ethnic continuum of social and political organizations present at this historic time. Some Perennialism authors seeks the origin of the nation in the hermeneutics of divine books such as the Torah, New and Old Bible [testament], Koran to demonstrate that the nation, even by the modern definition, existed in several historical periods (Antiquity, Middle Ages) of humanity.¹² For Stephen Grosby one of the most famous advocate of this approach, the

¹⁰ Clifford Geertz, , *Old Societies and New States: the Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*, New York: Free Press of Glencoe 1963, p. 310

¹¹ Grosby, Huard-Champoux, p. 151

¹² Huard-Champoux M., *Des théories du nationalisme à la construction identitaire nationale: l'identité nationale dans un contexte de légitimation politique en Chine*, Mémoire de master, Université du Québec-Montréal, 2008, p. 13-14

nation is defined as "a community of kinship, specifically bounded, territorially extensive, deep community of temporally nativity".¹³

Grosby's analysis raises some legitimate questions. First, the use of religious texts like the Old Testament as an empirical source becomes a problem because of countless changes that have been made on these books over the centuries. The history of religious texts is marked with numerous translations, omissions and revisions that have drastically decreased the analytical values of these works.

For most nationalism experts, biological and cultural essentialism in the process of nation building do not take into account the multiple societal transformations over centuries and does not also offer a real explanation of the formation of modern nations. The main criticism of this approach came from the modernist approach

1.1.2. Modernist Approach

Modernists approach outlines the fact that, the Nation is a modern conception that ideologically came from both the Enlightenment and industrialisation periods. In other words nations are the son of modern times. Modernist school marked a direct link between the creation of the modern state and the creation of a nation. Ernest Gellner in his book *Nations and Nationalism* explained that: "Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent entities".¹⁴ He also explains the intrinsic link between state and nation: "having a nation is not an inherent attribute of humanity, but it has now come to appear as such. In fact, nations, like states, are a contingency, and not a universal necessity. Neither nations, nor states exist at all times and in all circumstances. Moreover, nations and states are not the same contingency. Nationalism holds that they were destined for each other; that either without the other is incomplete, and constitutes a tragedy".¹⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, to show that nations and nationalism are the creation of human being, outlines the fact that the word nationalism appears only at the end of the 19th century.

¹³ Grosby, Steven Elliott. *Nationalism: a Very Short Introduction*, Coll. «Very Short Introductions, Oxford University Press, 2005, 142 p.

¹⁴ Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1983, p. 1.

¹⁵ Gellner, p. 6

This appear to mean ideologist groups of rights and supporters of aggressive territorial expansion in France and Italy who used the national character of a community against liberalists and socialists.¹⁶

It's the reason why most "modernist" authors believe that the concept of national identity, as known today, takes form in European society in the nineteenth century. The illustrative objection to this conception is probably Benedict Anderson in his book *imagined Communities*, *nations* firstly appeared in America as imagined realities such as nation-states, republican institutions, common citizenship, popular sovereignty, national flags and National anthems founded as a result of the American war of independence and later exported to Europe through the state officials.

In order to understand modernist approach, it is necessary to understand the differences and similarities even within this school of thought. The next section will analyze various modernist authors to better understand the theoretical extent of this approach.

1.1.2.1. Ernest Gellner and 'High Cultures'

Ernest Gellner is probably the most influential name for the studies on nationalism since the mid XX century. His work has enshrined the studies on the subject in a real theoretical framework that allowed analyzing nationalism as a whole that is from its origin and its evolution. Benedict Anderson says about him that: "Gellner's idea is often regarded the most influential attempt to construct a fully coherent theory of nationalism".¹⁷ According to Gellner, the main vector of nationalism, as conceptualized today is found in the industrialization of capitalist societies in Europe from the nineteenth century. This social permutation was sharpening during the transition from the agrarian society to an industrial society.

Philosopher and anthropologist Ernest Gellner, mentions that "nations are not listed in the nature of things" but emanate from a set of social conditions related to the economic organization of industrial societies; the role of educational systems is of vital

¹⁶ Hobsbawm, The Age Of Empire: 1875-1914, 1st American, New York, Pantheon Books, 1987 p.142

¹⁷ Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* Revised Edition, New York, Verso, 1991, p. 81

importance to Ernest Gellner. He outlined that "In fact, nations, like states, are a contingency, and not a universal necessity. Neither nations, nor states exist at all times and in all circumstances. Moreover, nations and states are not the same contingency. Nationalism holds that they were destined for each other; that either without the other is incomplete, and constitutes a tragedy. But before they could become intended for each other, each of them had to emerge, and their emergence was independent and contingent. The state has certainly emerged without the help of the nation. Some nations have certainly emerged without the blessings of their own state. It is more debatable whether the normative idea of the nation, in its modern sense, did not presuppose the prior existence of the state." "What then is this contingent, but in our age seemingly universal and normative, idea of the nation? A discussion of two very makeshift, temporary definitions will help to pinpoint this elusive concept." "Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas, signs, associations, ways of behaving and communicating.

"Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. In other words, nations marked man; nations are the artifacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities. A mere category of persons (say, occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language, for example) becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non- members.¹⁸

1.1.2.2. Eric Hobsbawm and “The Invention of Tradition”

The Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm (1983), for example, highlighted the extent to which nations are based upon ‘invented traditions’. Hobsbawm argued that a belief in historical continuity and cultural purity is invariably a myth and what is more a myth is created by nationalism itself. According to his point of view, nationalism creates nations, not the other way round. A widespread consciousness of nationhood did not, for example, develop until the late nineteenth century, perhaps fashioned by the

¹⁸ Gellner, Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983, pp. 6-7.

invention of national anthems and national flags, and the extension of primary education and thus mass literacy. Socialists, particularly Marxists, have linked this process to the attempt to consolidate inherently unstable class societies. From this perspective, nationalism is viewed as a device through which the ruling class counters the threat of social revolution by ensuring that national loyalty is stronger than class solidarity, thereby binding the working class to the existing power structure.¹⁹

The conceptualization of nationalism as an invention (theory) especially the political elite is observed as one of the variants of Gellner theory. The historian Eric Hobsbawm makes this parallel when he explains how the nationalism developed during the XIX century in Europe. Marxist trend emphasizes on the analysis that "the modern invention of the nation" through an elite that newly organizes and enfranchised populations by industrial society according to new divisions of labor of capitalism. The communities regrouped, are made more or less random and without any real consideration for regional diversity within the new nation. According to Hobsbawm: "[...] whatever the kind of the first social groups captured by 'national consciousness', the popular masses - workers, servants, Peasants, - are the last to be affected by it."²⁰ It is by using the "proto-national elements" that the elite are able to establish this national consciousness of the masses. These proto elements such as the national language, religion and traditional symbols are the instruments of Propaganda for the bourgeoisie, which try to link people to new structural developments of modernity.

Language is a basic example of a proto-national element to construct a national identity as "national languages are [...] Almost always semi-artificial constructs and occasionally, like modern Hebrew, Virtually invented"²¹ Thus, the territory of a Modern nation corresponds only rarely with language boundaries of the former agrarian community. Italians are a striking example, historically, the associated with the Florentine area with Italy permit the latter to have only few links with northern or southern dialects except those speaking languages of Latin origin. The use of such language in the whole of Italy was only from a perspective of 'nation building'.that is to gather the entire population of the territory governed under the same linguistic

¹⁹ Heywood Andrew, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, 5th Edition, 2012, P.177

²⁰ Hobsbawm, Eric, p.12.

²¹ Hobsbawm, p. 54.

standard. This feature caused among the inhabitants of the territory bilingualism facto between the regional dialect and the *lingua Franca* of government and interrelationships.

1.1.2.3. Karl Deutsch and Nation building

Karl Deutsch is the principal representative of the Nation building approach. In his book: *Nationalism and Social Communication*, published in 1953, he emphasized the role of the means of transport and communications in the outbreak and the strengthening of national sentiment and advance the idea that nationalism can be understood as compensation for the decline of community ties and the blanked ethnic particularism in a society in industrialization phase. He also concentrated on the role of social communication and national integration in the nation-building of Western societies as well as elaborated a new understanding of nationalism.

In formulating his nation-building theory, Deutsch began by defining nationalism and nationality. According to him, nationalism is the result of a long process involving assimilation of territories, cultures, markets and scientific advances which concludes with the formation of a common nationality by a modernizing state.²² Most of what was written on nation-building and integration in the 1960s and 1970s stood in the combined tradition of Mill and Acton. To Karl Deutsch and his disciples, nation-building and national integration were two sides of the same coin, indeed, simply two ways of describing the same process. A major object of nation-building was to weld the disparate population elements into a congruent whole, by forging new loyalties and identities at the national.

Deutsch specified four stages by which he expected this process to take place: open or latent resistance to political amalgamation into a common national state; minimal integration to the point of passive compliance with the orders of such an amalgamated government; deeper political integration to the point of active support for such a common state but with continuing ethnic or cultural group cohesion and diversity, and

²²Areva Paronjana, Viviana Pădurean, Xue Liang, Natalie Sidloski, *A Nation's Anxiety: Muslim and Roma Immigrants in France*, Aalborg University Faculty of Social Science Department of Culture and Global Studies, 2010 p 20.

finally, the coincidence of political amalgamation and integration with the assimilation of all groups to a common language and culture.²³

1.1.2.4. John Breuilly: Nationalism and the State

In his book, John Breuilly attempts to provide a general framework for the study of nationalism by arguing that nationalism is primarily a form of politics. In order to provide his general framework of nationalism, Breuilly argues that one must first create a typology of nationalisms and then investigate each type. Thus, after he outlines his framework, he spends much of the remainder of his book investigating the typology he has devised through a series of case studies. Breuilly defines nationalism as a term "used to refer to political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such actions with nationalist arguments. A nationalist argument is a political doctrine built upon three basic assertions: (a) there exists a nation with an explicit and peculiar character. (b) The interests and values of this nation take priority over all other interests and values. (c) The nation must be as independent as possible. The aim is to; at least attain the political sovereignty"(3). Breuilly identifies six class types nationalism, which provide the backbone of his subsequent case studies. Specifically, there is "separation," "reform," and "unification" varieties which differ when found in either "non-nation states" or "nation states" (12).²⁴ According to Breuilly nationalism should be understood as a form of politics that arises in opposition to the modern state. He also challenges the conventional view that nationalism emerges from a sense of cultural identity.

1.1.2.5. Benedict Anderson's and Imagined Communities

The term "*Imagined communities*" was popularized by Benedict Anderson thanks to a postmodern trend analysis that attempts to deconstruct the concepts of nation and its nationalism explanatory elements. Anderson defines the nation as an "imagined political community. They are imagined "because the members of even the smallest

²³Chapter 2, Nation-Building And Social Integration Theory, 2016, <http://folk.uio.no/palk/ch02.htm>

²⁴ E. Zuelow, Book Reviews and Abstracts, http://www.nationalismproject.org/books/a_b.htm 29.12.2015

nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion".²⁵

He pointed out, nations constituted by only 'imagined communities'. Anderson argued that nations exist more as mental images than as genuine communities that require a degree of face-to-face interaction to sustain the notion of a common identity. Within nations, individuals only ever meet a tiny proportion of those with whom they supposedly share a national identity. If nations exist, they exist as imagined artifices, constructed for us through education, the mass media and a process of political socialization.²⁶ The nation is imagined because it is limited by its borders with other nations and does not include all of humanity, but a certain group, a certain dimension in its territory. Finally, the nation is imagined as a political community, since it is systematized horizontally as great "camaraderie" among members of a nation.

Benedict Anderson also adheres to the concept of modernization arguments that explained the origin of nations. In other words, nations developed as a necessary component of industrial society, though neither "economic interest, Liberalism, nor Enlightenment could, or did, create in themselves the kind, or shape, or imagined community" (65). Breaking from Gellner (the Nations and Nationalism appeared in the same year (1983) as the first edition of *Imagined Communities*), Anderson places greater emphasis on the constructed nature of culture and on the role of print capitalism to the development of nations. On the cultural front, Anderson argues that pre-national culture was religious culture. Nations replaced this religious culture with their own uniquely constructed national cultures. Anderson places print capitalism in the heart of his theory, claiming that it was print capitalism which allowed for the development of these new national cultures and created the specific formations which the new nations would eventually take²⁷.

Anderson explains that this transformation of the collective imagination could not have taken place in pre-modern societies because: 1) the sanctity of writing and language in within major religions connected to a divine order of the supreme power

²⁵ Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* Revised Edition, New York, 1991, p.15

²⁶ Heywood, Andrew, , *Political Ideologies, An Introduction* , 3rd edition, 2012, p.138

²⁷ Zuelov www.nationalismproject.org/books/a_b.htm: [access 16.3.2016]

established a differentiation between the holders of the truth, through Latin, Qur'anic Arabic or Chinese mandarin and the rest of the population.²⁸ In addition the invention of printing, linked to capitalism (*print-capitalism*) would allow building the imagination needed to develop modern nation. According to Anderson, the economic markets have helped create a certain allegiance at the central government level by standardizing vernacular languages over the whole of a given area to create economic centers of impression.

Thus, originally disparate communities were able in a relatively short time, to read the same newspapers, getting the same information from the central power, and this in simultaneous time, the consequence has been to develop a national consciousness. Anderson explains that there was the moment of the creation 'imagined communities in Europe. « [...] the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation. »²⁹.

Anderson's approach is original and complementary to conventional modern approaches that little or no explanation at all how to develop a national imaginary, but insist mainly on the exploitation of the people by the elites and institutions derived from industrialization. In this sense, Anderson was right to insist on societal transformations, moving from a timeless, spiritual to hierarchy in which all or cultural identity markers appear immutable and eternal temporal universe, egalitarian and rational forms of breeding ground for the emergence of national consciousness. Criticism formulated in Anderson's approach with regard to the strong causal link between the *print-capitalism* and the advent of the nation. It is true that the emergence of some communities was particularly supported by the dissemination of new media such as newspapers and novels. However, most countries of America, Asia and Africa (and in several cases in Europe) didn't have a low literacy rate for the medium communication use hence it cannot be the main factor of nation building. In most cases, the writing was reserved for the intellectual elite.

1.1.3. Ethno-symbolist Approach

²⁸ Huard-Champoux, Mathieu, p.32

²⁹ Anderson, p.46

Developed by Anthony D. Smith, the ethnosymbolism attempts to set a link between primordialism and modernism, while reiterating the modern aspect of the nation also explaining its appearance by pre-modern ethnic origins. This approach attempts to link ethnic groups in the formation of nations. However, Smith does not refute the main argument of modernists that the nation is a modern invention, but he explained that this trend has modernized the cultural and ethnic origins. Relying in particular on studies of historians such as Adrian Hastings, John Gillingham, John Armstrong and Liah Greenfeld, Smith explained that there were national feelings before the modern period, it was the case in some medieval times in England when the English language was defined as predominant in the administration and the civil law.

The Henrician Reformation is certainly an important moment in the evolution of national sentiment and political ideology in England, but for medieval historians like John Gillingham and Adrian Hastings, it is not clear that it should be preferred to an earlier period like the fourteenth century, when English became prevalent in administration and law, or even late Anglo-Saxon England, when an early nation-state with a common religion, vernacular language, administration and compact territory came into being³⁰.

According to Smith D nation is : «[...] a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights for all its members ».³¹ By this definition, the vast majority of nations has modern origin, because the "pre-modern nations" have never had a public mass culture.³²

Smith proposes a methodology of analysis that implies a strong relationship between ethnic groups and nations, arguing that they are shaped and often developed from pre-modern ethnic communities. Smith define ethnies as «[...]named human

³⁰ Smith, Anthony D, *Nationalism and Modernism : A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*, New York, Routledge, 1998, p.171

³¹ Smith, Anthony D., *National Identity*, London, Penguin Group, 1991, p. 14

³² Guibemau, Montserrat, «Anthony D. Smith on Nations and National Identity: a Critical Assessment», *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 10, no 1-2, 2004, p. 129

populations with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with a specific territory, and a sense of solidarity».³³

Smith makes a difference between these two important concepts, by explaining that «ethnic communities do not have several of the attributes of the nation. They need not be resident in 'their' territorial homeland. Their culture may not be public or common to all members (...) nor need they have common legal codes with common rights and duties for all»³⁴. He explains that the modern nation is characterized by two dimensions that are civic and territorial and the ethnic and genealogical. It is the interaction between these two dimensions that allows the national identity to persist in modern political society.

Anthony D. Smith considers several elements that form the analytical base of ethnosymbolism: 1) the study of nationalism and the nation over a long period; 2) the relationship between the past, present and future through the national recurrence, continuity and reappropriation; 3) the study of the ethnic nations; 4) the cultural components ethnic groups; 5) ethnic myths and symbols; 6) the study of ethno-history; 7) context of ethnic communities transformation towards nationhood; and 8) longevity of nations.

1.1.3.1. Study of Nationalism over a Long Period

To be able to understand the evolution of national identity, it is necessary to study the nation over a long period. «If we want to grasp the power and understand the shape of modern nations, as well as their possible future course, over long period of time and not their ties, existence and formation to a particular period of history».³⁵

Unlike primordialist who claim that the nation is immortal and anchored to some biological or cultural design, ethnosymbolism empirically compares «patterns of nation-formation across periods without any preconceptions, with special emphasis on the recurrence of identical forms of community in different periods of history and across

³³ Smith, Anthony D., «History and National Destiny: Responses and Clarifications». Nations and Nationalism, vol. 10, no 1-2 2004, p.196

³⁴ Smith, Anthony D. National Identity, p. 40

³⁵ Smith, Anthony D, Myths and Memories of the Nation, Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 3

continents, continuity of specific communities across historical periods, and rediscovery of 'authentic' communal cultures by later generations».³⁶

This periodization contrasts with that used by the modernists, which are limited to the historic context of modernity. This methodological premise is the first step towards a differentiation between modernist vision and ethnosymbolist vision of nationalism. Because of the pre-modern origin of ethnic groups and the links between them and training modern nations, the study of nationalism must take into account different historical periods. According to Smith, the study of nationalism requires special analysis over a long period of ethno-cultural elements that form the modern nations.

1.1.3.2. National Relationship between the Past, Present and Future

According to ethnosymbolist approach, the relationship between the past, present and future is crucial to understand the evolution and the formation of nations. To do this, three themes shall canalize the research recurrence, continuity and reappropriation. First, through an empirical analysis over a long period History, it is possible to note the réccurrence of some ethnic elements that determines their importance in a national context. According to Smith, these elements can originate from ' myths of ethnicity, beliefs in ethnic election, the development of identitarian closure, the territorialisation of memory, and the vernacular mobilization of Communities".³⁷ Secondly, continuity is determined element by how far it is possible to date the origin of nations. The usage of elements such as names, symbols, languages, customs, territories and national identities rituals demonstrates the persistence of special components that culturally build the nations, in spite of many historical fragmentations which often break this continuity (military conquest, migration, colonization, assimilation). These elements were indeed significant breaks in cultural and ethnic group's continuity, but "that nevertheless renewed, rather than destroyed, the sense of common ethnicity and its identity»³⁸.

³⁶ Smith, Anthony, 1999, p.197

³⁷ Smith, Anthony D. Myths and Memories of the Nation, p. 4

³⁸ Smith, Anthony D. National Identity, p. 25

1.1.3.3.Ethnic Basis of Nations

The ethnic origin of nations and nationalism is the fundamental element in the approach of ethnosymbolism. According to Smith, ethnic groups have always existed since the creation of the human species. Since humans have had common cultural and ancestral feelings, ethnic groups have emerged. As defined by Smith, the ethnic communities or ethnic groups have memories, culture, association with a territory and a degree of mutual solidarity that are the basis of cultural elements helped the development of modern nations. According to Smith, for a modern nation survive and prosper, it must be built on the basis of ethnocultural elements which are communities present in the territory. Without real ethnic roots, the foundations for national construction is weak and cannot provide the basis for the population to ensure national project continuity. In this respect, the vast majority of nations have a modern ethnic nucleus (*core ethnic group*) that enables the population to differentiate from other populations. Later on, migration and territorial expansion among other things allowed the original population to include different members of different ethnic groups within the ethnic core of the modern nation.

1.1.3.4.Critics of Ethno Symbolism

The criticism addressed to the Ethnosymbolism approach is numerous, because this approach is found theoretically between primordialism, perennialism and modernism. Nevertheless, the most important criticism comes from the modernist writers for whom the nation and Nationalism cannot be conceptualized in the historical context of modernity. The following lines examine not exhaustively the criticism of this approach. Firstly, according to the modernist authors, supporters of ethnosymbolism minimize the differences between modern nations and ethnic communities. This criticism is equally addressed to primordialists; it raised the lack of information that allows believing that pre-modern ethnic communities were able to differentiate each other. Even when a (group) consciousness existed, it was mostly confined to an intellectual elite sentiment as the stage was not yet for the diffusion of ethnic sentiments to the wider public.³⁹

³⁹ Ozkirimli, Umut., p. 184

According to the modernist it was empirically impossible to check community building found itself embedded within (all social layers or conversely, if it was only a vision developed after for political or religious purposes as justifications for intellectual and religious elite. Anthony Smith disputes this view by stating that the lack of empirical evidence does not justify why some modern population does not have any form of collective consciousness. From this point, the distance between these different trends cannot be clearly specified whether the elites of that period [...] had a clear notion of sentiments lower down the social scale. So why should we assume that the peasants and artisans did not possess any such sentiments?⁴⁰

Secondly, the modernists believe in the social construction of nations and the Nationalism like ethnosymbolists, but believe that ethnosymbolists under evaluate the fluidity and malleability of ethnic communities. Modernist scholar does not share the ethno-symbolist believes in the persistence of ethnic identities⁴¹. According to this vision, ethnic communities over the centuries have always been subject to wide changes (wars, demographic shifts, immigration, etc.) which reduce greatly their analytical value over a long period of time. Thirdly, John Breuilly believes that ethnosymbolists do not sufficiently take into consideration the role of historical institutions in the development of nationalism and nations. The problems with identity established outside institutions, especially those institutions which can bind together people across wide social and geographical spaces, is that it is necessarily fragmentary, discontinuous and elusive.⁴²

1.1.4. Anticolonial and Postcolonial Nationalism

Anticolonialism thus came to express the desire for 'national liberation' from both the political and economic terms. It marked the growth of nationalism practised in the developing world.⁴³

The experience of colonial rule helped to shape a sense of nationhood and a desire for 'national liberation' amongst the peoples of Asia and Africa and gave rise to a

⁴⁰ Smith, Anthony D. «History and National Destiny: Responses and Clarifications». Nations and Nationalism, p. 206

⁴¹ Symmons-Symonolewicz, K, p. 152 (quoted in) Ozkirimli, Umut. Theories of Nationalism: a Critical Introduction, 1981, p.184

⁴² Breuilly, John. (quoted in) Smith, Anthony D. Nationalism and Modernism: a Critical survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism, 1996, p. 151

⁴³ Andrew Heywood, Political Ideologies: An Introduction, 3rd edition, 2012, p. 143

specified anticolonialist form of nationalism. During the twentieth century, the political geography of much of the world was transformed by anticolonialism. Although, the Versailles treaties applied the principle of self-determination to Europe, it was conveniently ignored in other parts of the world, where German colonies were simply transferred over to the British and French control. However, during the interwar period, independence movements increasingly threatened the overstretched empires of the UK and France. The final collapse of the European empires came after the Second World War.⁴⁴

According to John Breuilly, anti-colonialism is one of the main forms of nationalism. It has developed in a vast range of societies and its successes have transformed the political map of much of the world. In this tradition of nationalism, nationhood and statehood are intrinsically linked. The litmus test of national identity in the desire to attain or maintain political independence is usually expressed in terms of the principle of national self-determination. The goal of nationalism is therefore the founding of a 'nation-state'. Nowadays, this has been achieved in one or the other way.⁴⁵

The definition given by Aimé Césaire of colonization is most illustrative. What is colonization? To agree on what it is not; it is neither evangelization, philanthropic venture, or will to push back the frontiers of ignorance, disease, tyranny nor enlargement of God or Laws of extensions; to admit once and for all, without flinching will of the consequences that the decisive gesture here is, the adventurer and pirate, the largest grocer and the ship owner, gold digger and the merchant, appetite and strength, with behind the shadow, evil, a form of civilization that at a moment of its history, finds himself obliged, internally, to extend worldwide concurrence its antagonistic economies⁴⁶.

Marlon Simmons and George J. Sefa provide us with a more detailed of anticolonial framework theory in the article entitled *Reframing Anti-colonial Theory for the Diasporic context*.

⁴⁴Heywood, 2012, p. 143

⁴⁵Heywood, 2012, p. 133

⁴⁶ Aimé Césaire, 2004, *Discours sur le Colonialisme*, Présence Africaine, Paris, p.9

- The anti-colonial framework is a theory about the mechanics and operations of colonial and re-colonial relations and the implications of imperial projects on: processes of knowledge production, interrogation and validation.
- The anti-colonial theory works with the idea that all knowledge must purposively serve to challenge colonial imposition.
- Anti-colonial framework theorizes the nature and extent of social domination, and particularly, the multiple places of power and how these relations of power work to establish dominant-subordinate connections...
- Working with the anti-colonial framework means engaging such concepts as colonialism, oppression, colonial encounter, decolonization, power, agency and resistance, as well as claiming the authenticity of local voice and intellectual agency of peoples.
- An integrated and intersectional analysis of colonialism, imperialism and decolonization offers a deeper understanding of anti-colonialism...
- Anti-colonial theory also recognizes the central place of spirituality and the spiritual knowing – embodiment of knowledge.
- Anti-colonial is an epistemology of the colonized, anchored in the Indigenous sense of collective and common colonial consciousness. In other words, the anti-colonial framework is primarily an epistemology of the oppressed.⁴⁷

As Kempf referred by Marlon and Sefa (2012) writes “dominant bodies must work primarily against the oppression by which they are privileged and in which they thus participate”. The notion of “white/colonial privilege” is crucial to anti-colonialism because it permit us to ask and insist upon accountability and addressing responsibilities. For dominant bodies, working with the power of “colonial privilege” should be an important entry point to theorized anti-colonial politics.

1.2. The Concept of Identity

The academic term “Identity” related from the work of psychologist Erik Erikson in the 1950s.⁴⁸ The concepts of identity has been subject of several researches in different

⁴⁷ Marlon Simmons and George J. Sefa Dei Oise, Reframing anti-colonial theory for the diasporic context, University of Toronto 2012 pp 73-74-75)

fields such as psychology, sociology, management and philosophy... Because of the inherent heterogeneity of the field, identity is a polysemic term. The concept of identity is qualified as strange, annoyed, attractive, impressive.⁴⁹ complicated and unclear,⁵⁰ ambiguous and slippery⁵¹. Kaufmann argues that the word identity is everywhere; it is a kind of portmanteau in which everyone puts its own content. It is important to define what we understand behind this term, which brings us to this question: the identity, what is it?⁵²

1.2.1. Defining Identity

To have a large view on this concept, we will provide some definitions given by different scholars about it. James D. Fearon⁵³ in his research referred some scholars whose defined identity.

According to HOGG AND ABRAMS, identity is “people’s concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others”. So, it is the way how individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture”. For ERIK ERIKSON – (...) Identity is a dynamic fitting together of parts of the personality with the realities of the social world so that a person has both a sense of internal coherence and meaningful relatedness to the real world.⁵⁴ Vivian L. Vignoles et.al stated that identity involves people’s explicit or implicit responses to the question: “Who are you?” This may sound fairly simple, but in fact it masks a considerable amount of complexity. First, we should note that the “you” can be singular or plural—thus, identity can refer to the self-definitions of individuals (“I am the father of two children, a guitarist, a British person, a social scientist, etc.”). Second, the question may be posed reflexively-to oneself introspectively (i.e., “Who am I?”) or to fellow group members in an intragroup discussion (i.e., “Who are we?”) - As

⁴⁸ James D. Fearon, What Is Identity (As We Now Use The Word)?, Stanford University, November 3, 1999, p.1

⁴⁹ Jean-Claude Kaufmann, 2011, Identity and the New Nationalist Pronouncements, International Review of Social Research, Volume 1, Issue 2, June 2011, 1-13

⁵⁰ James D. Fearon, 1999

⁵¹ Buckingham, David, “Introducing Identity.” Youth Identity, and Digital Media , Edited by David Buckingham. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur, Foundation Series on Digital Media and Learning. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2008, 1–24

⁵² Virginie Brodeur, 2013, Comprendre l’identité en orientation, Montreal, <http://orientationpourtous.blogspot.com.tr>, 25.1.2015

⁵³ James D. Fearon, What Is Identity (As We Now Use The Word)?, Stanford University, November 3, 1999, p.4-5

⁵⁴ Definitions of identity 18th century, University of Calgary

well as in social interactions between individuals and between groups. In other words, identity comprises not only “who you think you are” (individually or collectively), but also “who you act as being” in interpersonal and intergroup interactions - and the social recognition or otherwise that these actions receive from other individuals or groups.⁵⁵

1.2.2. Social Identity Theory

Henri Tajfel, Michael Billig and Donald Horowitz are considered by Cordell and Wolf as the most important theorists in the social identity approach. The purpose of this theory is that every individual divides his or her social world into distinct classes or so-called social categories and locates themselves and others in relation to them. On the basis of a cumulative process of locating oneself, individuals can constitute their social identity.⁵⁶

In the same direction, Tajfel and Turner proposed that there are three mental processes involved in evaluating others as “us” or “them” (i.e. “in-group” and “out-group”). These take place in a particular order:

- **Social categorisation:** We categorize objects in order to understand them and identify them. In a very similar way we categorize people (including ourselves) in order to understand the social environment. We use social categories like black, white, Australian, Christian, Muslim, student, and bus driver because they are useful.

When we assign people to a category then it tells us things about those people, because we couldn't function in a normal manner without using these categories; i.e. in the context of the bus. Similarly, we find out things about ourselves by knowing what categories we belong to. We define appropriate behavior by reference to the norms of groups we belong to, but you can only do this if you can tell who belongs to your group. An individual can belong to many different groups.

- **Social identification:** We adopt the identity of the group we have categorised ourselves as belonging to. If for example you have categorized yourself as a student, the chances you will adopt the identity of a student and begin to act in the ways you

⁵⁵ Vivian L. Vignoles, Seth J. Schwartz, And Koen Luyckx, Identity Theory And Research, Kindle Edition 2011, p.2

⁵⁶Karl Cordell, Stefan Wolff, , Ethnic conflict: Causes-Consequences-Responses, Polity Press, 2010, p.38

believe students act (and conform to the norms of the group). There will be an emotional significance to your identification with a group, and your self-esteem will become bound up with group membership.

- **Social comparison:** once we have categorised ourselves as part of a group and have identified with that group we then tend to compare that group with other groups. If our self-esteem is to be maintained our group needs to compare favorably with other groups. This is critical to understand prejudice, because once two groups identify themselves as rivals; they are forced to compete in order for the members to maintain their self-esteem. Competition and hostility between groups is thus not only a matter of competing for resources like jobs but also the result of competing identities.⁵⁷

1.2.3. Categories of Identity

Social identity theory as developed by Tajfel and Turner argues that there are two distinct aspects of the self-concept: personal identity and social identity.

1.2.3.1. Individual or Personal Identity

As James D. Fearon stated that personal identity is a set of attributes, beliefs, desires, or principles of action that an individual thinks to distinguish her in socially relevant ways and that an individual takes a special pride in.⁵⁸ The person takes no special pride in, but which so orient her behavior that she would be at a loss about how to act and what to do without them; or the person feels she could not change even if she wanted to. Most often, He argued that, the meaning applies, so that for use in ordinary language, personal identity can typically be glossed as the aspects or attributes of a person that form the basis for his or her dignity or self-respect. Used in this sense, “identity” has become a partial and indirect substitute for “dignity,” “honor,” and “pride.”

⁵⁷ Mcleod, S. A., , Social Identity Theory, Retrieved From [Www.Simplepsychology.org/Social-Identity-Theory.Html](http://www.Simplepsychology.org/Social-Identity-Theory.Html), [Access 16.2.2008]

⁵⁸ James D. Fearon, 1999, p.11

1.2.3.2. Collective or Social Identity

Collective identity refers to people's identification with the groups and social categories to which they belong, the meanings that they give to these social groups and categories, and the feelings, beliefs, and attitudes that result from identification with them.⁵⁹ As Vivian L. Vignoles, Seth J. Schwartz, And Koen Luyckx, many other authors shares the same point of view when is about defining social identity WENT defines it as, sets of meanings that an actor attributes to itself while taking the perspective of others, that is, as a social object. ... [Social identities are] at once cognitive schemas that enable an actor to determine 'who I am/we are' in a situation and positions in a social role structure of shared understandings and expectations".⁶⁰

According to Rawi Abdelal and et.al, collective identity as a social category varies along with two dimensions – content and contestation. Content describes the meaning of a collective identity. The content of social identities may take the form of four, non mutually exclusive types: constitutive norms, social purposes, relational comparisons with other social categories, and cognitive models. Contestation refers to the degree of agreement within a group over the content of the shared category.⁶¹

James D. Fearon in his article "what is Identity" outlines that there are social categories of identity, such as national identities (American or Russian), party affiliation (e.g., Democrat or Republican), sexual identity (heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, etc.), and ethnic identity.

1.2.3.3. National Identity

In the large field of social identities, national identity occupies an important place. Each state claims the existence of this national identity inside its borders and even beyond. National identity is not only the feeling experienced by a person to be part of a nation. But it is also an internalization of identity markers, resulting in permanent visibility of the "common" of the nation, which may take the form of symbols. This visibility is

⁵⁹ Vivian L.Vignoles and Al., , Handbook of Identity Theory and Research, Springer New York Dordrecht Heidelberg, London, 2011, p.3-4

⁶⁰ James D. Fearon, p.5

⁶¹ Rawi Abdelal and Al., Measuring identity: A guide for social scientists, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 18

generally organized by the state deliberately in order to permit the individual from his childhood. The concept of national identity also refers to the set of "common characteristics" between people who identify themselves as belonging to one nation. According to Anthony D. Smith, national identity has five fundamental attributes:

- historic territory or homeland
- common myths and historical memories
- a common, mass public culture
- common legal rights and duties for all members
- common economy with territorial mobility for members.⁶²

Beside the national identity, another form of the collective identity of considerable importance is ethnic identity.

1.2.3.4.Ethnic Identity

The term ethnic has Latin and Greek origins “*ethnicus* and *ethnikas* both meaning nation. It has been used historically to refer to people as heathens (barbarian, pagan etc.) *Ethos*, in Greek, means custom, disposition or trait. *Ethnikas* and *ethos* taken together, therefore can mean a band of people (nation) living together who share and acknowledge common customs. The second part of the construct, identity, has Latin origins and is derived from the word *identitas*; the word is formed from *idem* meaning same.”⁶³

Tajfel wrote about ethnic identity that is, “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership”. According to Phinney there are common characteristics with the ethnic identity. The self-identification as a group member, a sense of belonging and attitudes toward one’s group are elements of the ethnic identity in diverse cultural groups. She maintains that ethnic identity is “a multidimensional, dynamic construct that develops over time through a process of exploration and commitment”. It is a dynamic construct

⁶² Smith, Anthony D, National Identity, London: Penguin, 1991, p.14

⁶³ Mudasir Ahmad Lone, Ethnicity of Pakhtoons of Kashmir Valley in Jammu and Kashmir India, *Journal of Foreign Languages, Cultures and Civilizations*, 1(1) 2013, pp. 33-44.

because it can be modified during a person's life. So the ethnic identity is also part of the developmental process.⁶⁴

Other authors prefer to highlight the different elements that form the basis of ethnic groups. Max Weber wrote that "ethnic groups are those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonisation or migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists." And according to Anthony Smith, an ethnic group is, "a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of a common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity"⁶⁵. On the other hand, Phinney and Alipuria, in a seminar work, showed that ethnic identity issues were significantly higher among minority groups (Asian-American, Black, and Mexican-American) as compared to majority group -White people and college students⁶⁶. As we can see the concept of identity is very large and a lot of research has been in order to know more about it.

⁶⁴ Moisés Esteban Guitart, *Ethnic Identity in an Intercultural Geography: An Empirical Study*, Canadian Social Science Vol. 7, No. 2, 2011, pp. 64-71

⁶⁵ Kanchan Chandra, *What Is Ethnic Identity And Does It Matter?*, New York University, 2005, p.6

⁶⁶ Moisés Esteban Guitart, 2011, p.65

CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW ON CAMEROON AND ITS NATIONAL IDENTITY FORMATION

Before describing the formation process and the basics of Cameroon national identity, we need to provide an overview on, his geography, history and culture of the country.

2.1. Cameroon's Background

The particular feature of Cameroon undoubtedly lies in its diversity. This diversity resides within its geography, history and its cultural components. In fact, Cameroon has more than six different ecological regions characterized by a mixture of geo-climatics, demographics and agro-pedologics. Historically Cameroon experienced the German, French and Britain domination. The heritage of these dominations is the imposition of their languages as official languages of the country. Culturally, they are more than two hundred ethnic groups in Cameroon. Furthermore, Cameroon is a constellation of diverse religions derive from Christianity, Islam and animism is equally found in Cameroon. Cameroon had been and still remains the mosaic through which any element contributes to interact in the scheme of population mobility.⁶⁷

2.1.1. Geographical Presentation of Cameroon

Cameroon is situated in Central Africa (Appendix 1), at the juncture of the Gulf of Guinea. It is bounded on the North by Chad, on the East by the Central Africa Republic, on the South by Congo, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea and on the West by Nigeria. Cameroon is the world's 53rd largest country. Cameroon is considered as "Africa in miniature" because it exhibits all major climates and vegetation of the

⁶⁷ Paul Hengue, *Le phénomène de L'urbanisme a l'Ouest-Cameroun, Etude comparées de deux métropoles, Foumban et Bafoussam*, these de doctorat 3e cycle de sociologie, Yaoundé 1984, p.132

continent: coast, desert, mountains, rainforest, and savanna. According to the World Population Review, the population of Cameroon on February 2016 was 22 835 270.⁶⁸ Cameroon experience the equatorial climate which is hot and humid with two raining seasons and two drying seasons. Located at the gulf of Guinea, it is covered by the great equatorial forest. The highest mount of Cameroon is located in the South East part of the country. The most important towns are Douala the economic capital and Yaounde the political capital. On the administrative plan, Cameroon has ten regions, with each region under the command of a Governor appointed by the central executive administration. Regions are subdivided into divisions and are administered by a senior divisional officer and subdivisions are governed by divisional officers. The subdivisions are further divided into districts and the districts into chiefdoms or villages.

2.1.2. Brief Political History of Cameroon

From the historic point of view, Cameroon had experienced a particular trajectory. Indeed, before the first contact with European explorers and traders, the populations were organised in traditional societies which were either strongly organised and centralized (traditional chiefdoms, empires, kingdoms) or highly segmented and decentralized and abusively called acephalous.⁶⁹ before it became a German Protectorate in 1884, Cameroon consisted of "organized states and kingdoms" ruled by monarchs who had as much right to their crowns or positions as did their European counterparts; monarchs who as far back as 1472, "signed treaties of amity and of commerce on terms of equality with the representatives of kings and rulers of other nations".⁷⁰

This previous era was followed by the most dramatic period of slave trade and colonization. The land changed colonial rule until 1884, when treaties with tribal chiefs brought the area under German domination, this happened when Chancellor Bismarck, in search of a colonial empire for Germany, sent Dr. Gustav Nachtigal to Morocco, Togo, Cameroon and S.W. Africa. Nachtigal negotiated and signed treaties with the kings of Douala, Bimbia and Batanga, thus declaring Kamerun a German Protectorate. German explorers Zintgraff, Zeuner, Thoebecke soon started to explore and surveying

⁶⁸ WPR, Cameroon Population 2016, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/cameroon-population/>

⁶⁹ Fortes (M) Evans- Pritchard (EE): *Systemes Politiques Africains*, Paris, PUF, 1964, p.4-5

⁷⁰ P.105

their new protectorate. Germany set up an administration based first in Douala, then later at Buea. They created plantations, built roads, railways and houses, schools and ports, using forced labor. They launched military expeditions against turbulent groups. By 1914, they had created Kamerun and put in on the map of Africa and the world. Many Germans settled in the country as traders, farmers and administrators. During the First World War 1914 to 1918 Germany was defeated in Cameroon in 1915 by a combined force of British, French and Belgian troops. The British and French thereafter established a joint administration of the territory (condominium) for a few months, and then partitioned it. The British took a smaller Western band with the Mountain range forming a natural frontier between her sector and the larger eastern French sector. The British sector was disjointed by the Benue Valley thus providing Northern British Cameroon and Southern Cameroon.⁷¹

After World War I, the League of Nations gave the French a mandate over 80% of the area, and the British 20% adjacent to Nigeria. The idea behind the mandate was that although Germany had lost the war, its colonies were "not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world"⁷² After World War II, when the country came under a UN (United Nations) trusteeship in 1946, self-government was granted, and the Cameroon People's Union emerged as the dominant party by campaigning for reunification of French and British Cameroon and for independence. Accused of being under Communist control, the party waged a campaign of revolutionary terror from 1955 to 1958. French Cameroon became an independent republic on Jan. 1, 1960. In 1961 the southern part of the British territory joined the new Federal Republic of Cameroon and the northern section voted for unification with Nigeria.⁷³

This brief panoramic view of the history of Cameroon will enable us to capture and identify the various elements of the Cameroonian national identity, epoch after epoch. The most particular feature of Cameroon lies undoubtedly in its ethnic, cultural and religious complexity. In fact Cameroon is one of the most multi-ethnic countries around the world.

⁷¹<http://cameroon-tour.com/origins/index.html> 9.1.2016

⁷² KALE, P.M., Political Evolution of the Cameroons. The Government Printer: Buea, 1967, p.7-8

⁷³<http://www.infoplease.com/country/cameroon.html?pageno=2> [Access25.1.2016]

2.1.3. Cameroon Cultural Complexity

Cameroon is presented as Africa in miniature and the junction point of African regions from northern, western, central but equally the intersection of the three great regions culturally classified by anthropologists: the Guinean coast, the western Sudan and Congo. A useful classification which permits the description of a complex ethno-cultural landscape of the country generally follows the classification by groups of languages. The three groups are henceforth design by the names of Atlantic, Bantoid and the Chadian.

Recent linguistic research has identified and enumerated about two hundred ethnic groups in the Republic of Cameroon and the presence of the cultural map has confirmed the exceptional complexity of the cultural configuration (Appendix 2 to 8). According to Cameroon Presidency of Republic internet website: Cameroon has more than 240 tribes which are composed of three main ethnic groups; Bantus, Semi-Bantus and Sudanese. The number of national languages spoken in the country is more than 240. The most notable tribes are Bantus (Beti, Bassa, Bakundu, Maka, Douala, and Pygmies), Semi-Bantus (Bamileke, Gbaya, Bamoun, and Tikar), Sudanese (Fulbe, Mafa, Toupouri, Shoa-Arabs, Moundang, Massa, Mousgoum....). According to the first work of Victor T. Le Vine in 1970, the most important numerous groups where the semi-Bantous Bamileke, mostly found around the highlands of the western region. Directly link to the semi Bantous Bamileke are the diverse ethnics of the Bamenda region, which are mostly from the Tikar origin.⁷⁴

The Bamoun ethnic group is the vanguard of the Sudanese population migration in the early 19th century. They occupied in between the M'Bam and the Noun fertile highlands, with an average height 600 to 700 meters, sharing the space with the Bamileke population in the west, and the Tikars who from originated occupied the western part of the Adamawa highlands, actually settle in the area corresponding to the high valley of M'Bam.⁷⁵

⁷⁴Zognong, www.unesco.org/most/dpzognong.htm [Access:23.11.2015]

⁷⁵ Deboudaud J., Chombart de Lauwe P. H Carte schématique des populations du Cameroun. In: Journal de la Société des Africanistes, tome 9, fascicule 2. 1939, pp. 197-204

Toward the south, in the region dominated by the equatorial Bantu, the main ethnic group is a linguistic agglomeration largely shared, the Bété-pahouin which comprise the tribe inhabiting the Yaounde zone. These Bété zones constitute the second most populated zone of Cameroon. This group is principally composed of the Bantu speaking Ewondo, Bulu and Fang.

The Bantu of the Large South, the densest, are the Bassa and Bakoko which occupied in general the meridional valley of the Sanaga River. These groups are important not only by their numerical value, but because they were the first group to fight for independence in the 1950s. Another group is the population of the Littoral and the Sawa, which are of great political and economic importance. There're principally occupied the Littoral region and estuaries of the Wouri Coast.

Toward the North-Cameroon, the Kirdi ethnic group is used to call the heathen (animists) population concentrated around the mountainous area of Mont Mandara. They are called Kirdi because of the fact that they refused to be Muslim. The Muslim Foulbe which constitute the second largest ethnic group of North-Cameroon and mostly disperses around the towns that form the emirates of Adamawa, Garoua, Ngaoundere. The cultural complexity of Cameroon is not just ethnic but also religious.

According to the 2005 census, the most recent available, 69 percent of the population is Christian, 21 percent Muslim, and 6 percent animist. Groups constituting less than 5 percent of the population include Jews and Bahais. About 38 percent of the population is Roman Catholic, 26 percent is Protestant, 4 percent belongs to other Christian denominations, including Jehovah's Witnesses, and less than 1 percent is Orthodox Christian. Muslims and Christians live in every region, although Christians are concentrated primarily in the southern and western regions. Large cities have significant populations of both groups. The two Anglophone regions of the country are largely Protestant, and the eight Francophone regions are mostly Catholic. In the northern regions, the dominant Fulani (or Peuhl) ethnic group is mainly Muslim, but the overall population in those regions is fairly evenly divided among Muslims, Christians, and followers of indigenous religions, who are mostly located in rural areas. The Bamoun ethnic group of the West Region is predominately Muslim. Many Muslims,

Christians, and members of other faiths also adhere to some aspects of African animist beliefs.⁷⁶

2.2. The Formation of National Identity in Cameroon

The history of the construction of national identity in Cameroon can be subdivided into three periods: the period preceding independence, the period of independence and the period of return to democracy. Each of these periods has its own specific characteristics in the construction of the national identity. This section outlines the facts and acts contributing to the formation of national identity. This will be done in the light of nationalism and collective identity theories we will consider discourse that structured the political thought in these different periods of the Cameroon history in order to highlight the factors of national identity in Cameroon. As stated by Smith above, nation building has to be studied in the long period,

«If we want to grasp the power and understand the shape of modern nations, as well as their possible future course, over a long period of time and not their ties, existence and formation for a particular period of history».

2.2.1. Pre-Independence Period (1948-1960)

The most important thing to outline during this period (pre-independence period) are the struggles of nationalist movements to achieve self-determination from colonial masters. According to many theorists of nationalism, the struggle for self-determination constitute an important factor in the building of national identity. In this regards Heywood affirm that: 'Nationalism as a political ideology only emerged when the idea of national community encountered the doctrine of popular sovereignty'⁷⁷ furthermore, he explains that the struggle for self-determination implies two things, unification, 'it may involve a process of unification', and the creation of nation-state. 'Nation-states can be created through the achievement of independence, in which a nation is liberated from foreign rule and gain control over its own destiny'.⁷⁸ In the case of Cameroon, the discourse on national identity was structured around the themes such as anti-colonialism

⁷⁶ <http://yaounde.usembassy.gov/irf.html> [access 22.12.2015]

⁷⁷ Heywood Andrew, 2012, p.133

⁷⁸ Heywood Andrew, 2012p.134

to end colonialism, and equally to achieve independence and unification of Cameroon, conferring a distinct identity to her as compare to other countries.

2.2.1.1. Anti-Colonialism as a Structuring Factor of National Identity in Cameroon

For most of the ancient European colonies of Africa and Asia, the fight against colonial rules started at the end of the Second World War. In Cameroon, Many political parties were created, some of which militated for independence and for the reunification of the Cameroons. Prominent amongst them were the Kamerun National Congress (KNC), the Kamerun People's Party (KPP), and the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP) of Southern Cameroon, the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), the Democrat Camerounais (DC), and the Union Camerounaise (UC) of French Cameroon (Ardener, 1962, 1967; Gardinier, 1963; Le Vine, 1964; Kale, 1967; Joseph, 1977; Mukong, 1985).⁷⁹ But the most active among them was UPC (Union des Population du Cameroon); a nationalist political movement Formed in the French Cameroon in April 1948, this political party represented a militant nationalism that was unique in the country. Unlike the other parties, the UPC called for an end to French rule, defended the need for a rapid improvement in living standards, rejected the incorporation of Cameroun into the French Union, and advocated immediate reunification of the two territories French and British Cameroons as a condition for independence.⁸⁰

Anti-colonialism constituted one of the most prominent aspects of the UPC movement. The leader of the movement Um Nyobe, speaking about colonization said that ‘Colonization is a slavery, it is an enslavement of the populations by a group of individuals whose role is to exploit the riches and the of the enslaved populations’⁸¹ he also explains that, one of the failures of reforms to lead Cameroon to independence after the first World war is due to the fact that colonization created the feeling of inferiority on colonized people. Thirty years after World War I broke out; Germany fought and

⁷⁹ Francis Beng Nyamnjoh, *Broadcasting For Nation-Building In Cameroon; Development And Constraints*, Proquest Llc, Uk 1989, p.109

⁸⁰ Mark Dike DeLancey; Rebecca Neh Mbuh; Mark W. DeLancey: *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon*, The Scarecrow Press, Inc. Lanham, Maryland • Toronto • Plymouth, UK 2010, p. 377

⁸¹ <https://afrolegends.com/2011/10/10/ruben-um-nyobe-fighting-for-the-independence-of-cameroon/> [access 19.4.2016]

lost both the war and its colonies in Africa. The latter became "Mandated Territories" of the League of Nations, who assigned them "under mandate" to some of the victor-nations.⁸² France and British colonial administrations were known as trusteeship, their mission was to prepare Cameroon toward independence. But this was not the case because of the colonialism system that was established. This extract from his speech at the UNO in 1952 is more illustrative, Um Nyobe declared: "but the vital lacuna of the after war reforms rest on the fact that the population was unconditionally submitted to the colonizers which there consider as superior to them, according to their origin and the color of their skin. Hence, to talk about the right of citizens, liberty, emancipation and independence in front of their colonial masters was a taboo for Cameroonian people."⁸³ In addition, UPC movement denounced the fact that Great Britain and France manage Cameroon as their colonies, the Eastern part incorporated and managed by France and the Western part incorporated and manage by the Kingdom of Great Britain. Furthermore, Um Nyobe pointed out the method used by colonizers to delay the time of independence of Cameroon by using some Cameroonians as their indirect servants. According to aims followed by the UPC, it is notified on the explanatory sheet of the UPC movement and quote by Um Nyobe on his speech in front of the UNO 1952 "UPC fights against methods of colonization that slow down the progress of Cameroonian people and withdraw the possibility to really walk toward independence" (Um Nyobe).⁸⁴

Anti-colonialism has been a revolt against western power and their influence, and had been expressed in terms of liberalism and socialism borrowed from the West.⁸⁵ Indeed, according to the proponents of anti-colonialism, colonization led to the dehumanization of colonized people, and produced more victims of horrible facts of barbarism. Colonialism was an operating machine for the exploitation of colonized peoples supposedly considered as barbarians in the name of civilization. The question of unification also occupied an important place in nationalist thought in Cameroon; some nationalist actors advocated that the unification was one condition for independence.

⁸² Francis Beng Nyamnjoh, p.105

⁸³ Ruben Um Nyobe, Discourse at UN in 1952

⁸⁴ Ruben Um Nyobe, 2012, Discours devant l'ONU en 1952

⁸⁵ Heywood Andrew, Political Ideologies, An Introduction, 2011, 3rd ed, Liberteaya Ynggrubu

2.2.1.2. The Theme of Unification in the Nationalist Discourse in Cameroon

As pointed out by many theorists of nationalism, the unification of the different parts of a nation is an important element for the realization of a nation. Cameroon has not departed to this principle. Indeed, the actors of the struggle for his emancipation placed the issue of the reunification of Cameroon as a condition for achieving independence. The reason of the importance given to unification in nationalist approach is due to the fact that the actors considered that, they constituted a same entity sharing a same identity and that their country was unjustly separated. Um Nyobe, in order to prove that Cameroonians are sharing the same identity give some elements which constitute this identity. He did it by answering to a French representative in the UN. In fact, on the question why Cameroon have been divided, French representative In front of the UN council in 1958, he exposing the division of Cameroon by testifying that they do not exist any national feelings between Cameroonians during that period, arguing to denounce those who were seeking independence and re-unification of Cameroon that, national feelings suppose: 'community of origin, community of tradition, community of culture and interest, remembrance of difficulties shared together and a minimum of historic, economic and geographical proximity" these elements are too close of the European national identity model exposed by Anthony Smith in definition of national identity, such as: historic territory or homeland, common myths and historical memories, a common, mass public culture, common legal rights and duties for all members, common economy with territorial mobility for members⁸⁶. Ruben Um Nyobe in the same place contested the affirmation of French representative. In his discourse he portrayed opposite of the declaration of French representative. In fact Um Nyobe presented the effectiveness of all elements contested to his country as follows

➤ *Community of origin*

In fact, the French justification of the division and refusal to leave Cameroon was that the populations were so different from each other that finding the fundamental link that could bring about their unity was impossible, a research made by a French researcher in 1939 who declared for instance, in a study to establish an ethnographic

⁸⁶ Smith, Anthony D, National Identity, London: Penguin, 1991, p.14

map of Cameroon. ‘‘In Cameroon, all racial problems can be found. Groupings and divisions are based on very different phenomena. The geographical conditions play a great role: There are forest and savanna populations, inhabitants of the plains and those of the mountains. Each region corresponds to a different mode of living and thus gives rise to many economical differences. The region opposes distinctly the Fulbe⁸⁷ to other groups of people from the territory. The language tends to differentiate all the Bantous of the south to the North Sudanese. Regarding the anthropological data, they are still not yet enough to be used in a general classification. Moreover, Cameroon does not form an ethnological unity that can deliberately be separated from its neighboring regions. Many tribes have their habitants at the A.E.F frontier, and even that of Nigeria. The actual benefit of a distribution map is not to illustrate an arbitrary classification, but instead to mark the necessary distinctions to the administration.’’⁸⁸The UPC leader’s answer was as follows: Should we understand from this that instead of having a community of origin as Cameroonians, from the same people, there are some people in Cameroon having this ‘‘community’’ with the French on one side and the British on the other? On what basis can the right for Cameroonians to belong to the same people be contested? This answer shows that the nation must be the result of the willingness of people to live together and not the coercion via colonization what led to the dehumanization and the scission of families.

➤ ***Traditional community or Community of culture and interest***

The traditional community, according to the Western conception assumed that all members of a nation share fundamental connection such as religion, language, traditions or share memories as formulated by Anthony Smith. Um Nyobe explains that, there exists no difference between ethnic groups apart from the geographical division imposed by the colonial masters, who placed groups with similar traditions under the British and French influences. He asked the following rhetorical question to contradict the French ‘what are the traditional differences between the Bamilekes of Bamenda, Dschang, Kumba, Bafang, Mamfe and those of Bafoussam? In fact, they are the same ethnic groups sharing the same tradition, but was distorted during colonization and

⁸⁷ Fulbe is an important ethnic group in the North of Cameroon

⁸⁸ Deboudaud J., Chombart de Lauwe P. H., 1939, p. 197

people of the same tribe became disperse in two different parts of the territorial rule differently by Britain and France.

In the theory of nationalism primordialism approach, especially, the members of nation must share the same culture and should have the same interest, the General Secretary of UPC stated that, ‘It is undeniable the community of interest exists and the community of culture exists at the origin. There has been an attempt to falsify it with a pseudo French culture on one part and British on the other, but this attempt was put into failure because the colonial fact was opposed to the development of colonized people. The real colonialism depends on the customs and there were no partisans of colonial interest who could deny to Cameroonians the right to have a community with the same customs’.⁸⁹

➤ *Memories of shares events*

Memories of common difficulties shared by the members of national community are also a fundamental element in order to consider a group of people as a nation. This element where refuse to the Cameroonian people by the French representative in the UN. The General Secretary of UPC explain at the UN that Cameroonians share the same memories of some events due to these had the right of self-determination as a full right nation. The General Secretary of UPC used various examples to outline these facts such as, ‘forced labor, which the most difficult hardships that Cameroonians have not yet forgotten. A great part of Cameroonian under the British administration constituted of forced labor refugees from the French part of Cameroon’. If we consider hardships only from the war perspective, Cameroonians equally satisfy the conditions because they were used by European troops in the 1914-1918 war and human lives were lost and material damages imposed to innocent Cameroonians. For the last war, Cameroonians do not only keep memories as a “shared” hardship, but also as a turning point in the history of our country, marking the period when our people were called to bring their contribution to the victory of the right of people to decide for themselves. The Cameroonians from both regions who went to many war fronts of the anti-Hitler war does not consider the 1945 victory as being “won for them by others”, but as their own victory that should lead to the liberation of their Country from colonialism. But the

⁸⁹ Um Nyobe, 1958

colonial regime in itself constitutes a hardship, whose sad memory will always be kept by Cameroonians.

➤ ***Historic Territory and Common Economy***

According to various scholars of nationalism, such as Smith, Gelner, the history of a nation must be based on a territory with well known boundaries and inside of their boundaries they must practice economy freely. The definition of national identity by Smith corresponds to what he called 'common economy with territorial mobility for members'. These aspects of national feelings denied by the French representative in Cameroon were greatly condemned and fought by Um Nyobe assuring that Cameroon has its historic territory and is at the base of the question of the reunification of Cameroon. Um Nyobe stated that, 'even the last Cameroonian farmer, no matter where he lives, knows that the boundaries of his country are not found at the Mungo River where the administering powers committed abuses from all types'.

It then follows that this desire for the restoration of the normal relations throughout the country is based primarily on economic reasons. As for the historical vocation, we cannot say it does not exist, but it was just repressed by the nature of the colonial regime, based on cultural oppression. But what was retained by everyone was the question of the reunification of Cameroon which was the main concern of the Cameroon population.

According to Cameroon nation builders, the territorial boundaries of Cameroon must correspond to those when Germany occupied Cameroon. The borders of German Cameroon were presented as follows: With England, a treaty was signed on April 21st, 1885. According to this treaty the western boundary was from the thalweg of the *Akpa* to the *mouth* of the *Old Calabar* River, and Mount Cameroon was found in German territory. With France an agreement was signed on the 24 December 1885 laying down the southern borders. River Camp 70 was considered as natural limit. Other agreement came later on: 1893-Yola border agreement with Chad, 1894-eastern border agreement over the confluence of the *Sangha* River and the *Ngoko* River to Lake Chad.⁹⁰ Cameroon was delimited in terms of area of 750 000 km², but this territorial

⁹⁰ Ngongo, p.30

configuration change after the First World War in 1916. The loss of the First World War by Germany and the Versailles treaty lead to the division of Cameroonian territory. Britain and France reached an agreement on the sharing of Cameroon in 1916: Britain took: $\frac{1}{4}$ of the territory without Douala and France the remaining: $\frac{3}{4}$ of the territory.⁹¹

The theme of reunification outline by UPC activists was very similar to national romanticism, but mostly highlight the mechanism to be used in the construction of national identity. Unification is the base for building a nation, in fact, it is necessary to find items that bind people to make an identity. These items could be real or imaginary. Moreover, the achievement of independence remained the main objective of the nation building.

2.2.1.3. Independence as a Decisive Factor of National Identity Formation

The struggle for self-determination is probably the most important factor of nation building. According to Anthony Smith, for example, nationalism refers to “an ideological movement for maintaining and attaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation”.⁹² In other words, nationalism is an ideology for some people, a way for attaining independence for others. In order to constitute a nation, both singularity is necessary. It's for this objective that some Cameroonians movements were organized to attain the ultimate objective which was independence. Um Nyobe in UN assembly in 1952 said: ‘The UPC (the Cameroon's people Union) had to intervene on three issues: The immediate reunification of Cameroon; the formation of government, council and for an assembly with legislative powers; and finally the establishment of limited period colonial masters to grant independence to the Cameroonian people. These are Mr. President, the issues for which, the people of Cameroon have mandated me to come in here.’. This social objective was achieved in 1960 and 1961, even if all the actors for this independence were assassinated. These dates and can be considered as the birth of the nation-state of Cameroon. Because it marks at the same occasion a break with his former colony statute. Independence was proclaimed in 1960 for Cameroon under French domination and in 1961 for the part under British rule. The most eloquent act

⁹¹ Ngongo, p.78

⁹² Leerssen, Joep, *National Thought in Europe*, Amsterdam University Press, 2006, p15

was the assertion contained in the Constitution of 1960 that "independence is the determining factor in the Cameroonian national identity". This constitution written after independence is the most eloquent act that defines Cameroon National identity. It is thus stated in the first title of this constitution.

*The State and Sovereignty*⁹³

Article one

(1) The United Republic of Cameroon shall, with effect from the date of entry into force of this law, be known as Republic of Cameroon (Law No 84-1 of 4 February 1984).

(2) The Republic of Cameroon shall be a decentralized unitary State. -It shall be one and indivisible, secular, democratic and dedicated to social service. -It shall recognize and protect traditional values that conform to democratic principles, human rights and the law. -It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law.

(3) The official languages of the, Republic of Cameroon shall be English and French, both languages having the same status. The State shall guarantee the promotion of bilingualism throughout the country. It shall endeavor to protect and promote national languages.

(4) Its motto shall be "Peace-Work-Fatherland".

(5) Its flag shall be three equal vertical stripes of green, red and yellow charged with one gold star in the centre of the red stripe.

(6) Its national anthem shall be "O Cameroon, Cradle of our Forefathers".

*(7) The seal of the Republic of Cameroon shall be a circular medallion in bas-relief, 46 millimeters in diameter, bearing on the obverse and in the centre the head of girl in profile turned to the dexter towards a coffee branch with two leaves and flanked on the sinister by five cocoa pods, with the French words *République du Cameroun*" inscribed below the upper edge and the national*

⁹³ Law No. 96-06 of 18 January 1996 to amend the Constitution of 2 June 1972

motto "Paix-Travail-Patrie" inscribed above the lower edge; on the reverse and in the centre the coat of arms of the Republic of Cameroon, with the English words " Republic of Cameroon " inscribed beneath the upper edge and the national motto" Peace-Work-Fatherland " inscribed above the lower edge. - The coat of arms of the Republic of Cameroon shall be an escutcheon surmounted chief by the legend "Republic of Cameroon" and supported by two crossed fasces with the motto" Peace-Work-Fatherland " base. - The escutcheon shall be composed of a star on a field vent and triangle gules, charged with the geographical outline of Cameroon azure, and surcharged with the sword and scales of justice sable.

(8) The Capital of the Republic of Cameroon shall be Yaounde.

After achieving independence in the process of nation building was not completed but new challenges appeared for the new independent state, their leaders constructed news mechanisms in order to improve the new nation-state

2.2.2. Post Independence Period (1960-1990)

After the acquisition of independence in 1960, Cameroon enters the era of modern nation-state. The country fulfills the characteristics or the general principles of nation-state recognized to modern nation state. But the actors were conscious on the fact that the process of nation building was not completed. Indeed the newly reunified African nation proceeded to tackle its post-independence problems, such as the reinforcement of the national unity and national integration of the country because it was clear that the existence of some identity rivalries in the new independent state could weaken the progress of the state. Equally, maintaining the willingness of living together and consolidate the nation building. Such mechanisms have been a rhetoric on national identity and the quasi demonization of ethnicity, and curiously regional equilibrium.

2.2.2.1. Rhetoric of National Unity

IN achieving national unity, Ahmadou Ahidjo, the first President of the independent Republic of Cameroon (1960-1982), focused his political action on the construction and consolidation of national unity, because he considered that the large diversity in the country could constitute a threat to the unity of the state. During a press conference held on February 17, 1968, President Ahidjo said: “As far as the most important achievement I target, I must say, is not the achievement of the perfect national unity, but the commencement of the national unity”.⁹⁴ To achieve this, he was constantly recalling that national identity should be considered before ethnic or tribal identities. For instance, he claimed during one speech that “the National Unity means that in the process of the national construction there is not Ewondo, Bamileke, Douala, Foulbe, Boulou⁹⁵ etc. But rather and forever, only Cameroonians.⁹⁶ The official policy of the regime advocated the national unity in order to federate the various centrifugal forces which constituted serious threats of the extinction of the young Cameroonian State.⁹⁷

Paul Biya (1982), the second President of the Republic, goes on in the same way. He encourages each citizen to consider oneself first as a Cameroonian before being a member of one tribe or another one. Taking the case of his own personality, he reminded that if he is Bulu through his origins, he did not consider himself less than that; but rather the most important was the fact that he was the President of all the Cameroonians.⁹⁸ The reason of the ranking between national identity and ethno-regional identities was, that these presidents, like others in Africa in this period considering the multiplicity of ethnics as a threat to the national identity building in Cameroon. Post colonial political leaders saw ethnicity as an obstacle on the way to nation-building and they did not want to tolerate it. Their belief was that “Africa would prosper on condition of rejecting itself”⁹⁹ In this regards, President Paul Biya acknowledged that ‘Cameroon

⁹⁴ Pierre-F. Gonidec, *Le Monde Diplomatique*,
<https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1976/08/GONIDEC/33870>, [Access 21.12.2015]

⁹⁵ Ethnics groups name

⁹⁶ Ahidjo, Amadou, *Contribution a la Construction Nationale*, Présence Africaine, Paris, 1964, p. 29

⁹⁷ Saibou

⁹⁸ Ernest-Marie Mbonda, *Justice ethnique Identités ethniques, reconnaissance et représentation politique*, Les Presses De L'université Laval 2003, p. 35

⁹⁹ Davison, cited by Emmy Irobi, *Ethnicity and Nation Building in Contemporary Africa: A Perspective for Nonkilling*, USA, 2013, p.11

is a land of socio-historical multiplicity and division, a place of meeting of an unimaginable variety of centrifugal forces and antagonists, living in front of each other like a permanent vigil where the sense of specificities is too striking'.¹⁰⁰ The consequence of this perception has been the constitutional transformation of the state through the passage from the Federation state to unitary state; the suppression of multiparty system in 1966 and the creation of one party system with a highly centralized state.

The constitutional transformation of the state took place at two levels; firstly the passage from the Federal State to unitary state. Cameroon was a highly centralized federal state from 1961 to 1972. Like many African states at the time, the idea of having a strong nation-state, was en vogue. Concerns of diversity which arise during independence were pushed to the background. President Ahidjo for instance, favored a strong, unified Cameroon, and did not agree with issues concerning national diversity. In fact, after the independence of both Cameroons and the unification in 1961, a conference was held at Foumban on July 1961 by Foncha (KNDP) and Ahidjo (UC), in order to discuss about the nature of the new State, the federal system of two states was adopted and Ahmadou Ahidjo became the federal president, the unified territory became known as the Federal Republic of Cameroon, and comprised two states - West and East Cameroon - each with its own Prime Minister and Assembly.¹⁰¹ According to Francis Beng Nyamnjoh, the President of Republic began to think that federation was expensive and wasteful. He started scheming for a single unified party which he obtained in part in 1962 by stifling East Cameroonian multiparty system, and in full in 1966 by merging the UC with West Cameroonian parties to form the Cameroon National Union (CNU)¹⁰²; this state of fact was the practice was applied in various new independent countries in Africa, While nation-building implies 'integration on a variety of levels,' for some new African leaders it was a difficult task to perform because of ethnic differences in the state. However to tackle the issues of ethnic identification, ethnic consciousness, and national unity, some of the African leaders preferred authoritarian rule under a one-party system of government. They rejected democracy arguing that a

¹⁰⁰ Biya, P. : *Pour le libéralisme communautaire*. Lausanne, Édition Favre, 1987, p. 33.

¹⁰¹ Ardener, E., "The Nature of the Reunification of Cameroon" in: C. Hazlewood (ed.) *African Integration and Disintegration*. Oxford University Press: London, 1967, p.285-337.

¹⁰² Francis Beng Nyamnjoh, p.123

single party system would enable them accelerate national development and reduce possibilities of ethnic conflict.¹⁰³ This led to a quasi demonization of ethno-regional identities.

2.2.2.2. Demonization of Ethno-Regional Identities

In order to build the national unity, the new leaders of independent Cameroon fight ethnic and tribal particularisms, because as stated by President Paul Biya, personally Cameroon is highly exposed to the ethnical rivalries because of its large ethnical diversity. This perception of the diversity in the country led to his demonization. This demonization was built on the prohibition of ethnic or regional associations, the weakening of traditional chiefdoms. For denouncing the method of President Ahidjo, Robert Pwang explained that for the head of State, there was a boundary between the tribal man, that is, the Bassa, Boulou, Ewondo, etc. and the man-nation, that is, the Cameroonian. In other words, the fact of belonging to a tribal group and to assert it was an obstacle to be a good Cameroonian citizen. In the logic of the UNC President, it was necessary to stamp out the tribe to give place to the Cameroonian.¹⁰⁴ In other words, there were to be a transition between the tribe to citizenship. In this context, they proceed by the weakening of traditional chiefdoms in organizing their functioning¹⁰⁵ or in adopting legislation which ban any reference to ethnic groups, especially concerning ethnic associations or meetings. This is evidenced by the law of 12 June 1962 that bans any grouping for the ethnic purpose. As demonstrated by various researches, the president used ethno-regional factor as a strategy for the building of national unity and maintaining a kind of Etna-regional equilibrium.

2.2.2.3. Regional Equilibrium

While the ideology of the first president of the republic and even his successor was to leave away ethnic identities from the public and political sphere, it remains true that, they took into account the ethno-regional factor in the organization of the state. In other words, ethno-regional identities used a factor of positions in the high offices of the

¹⁰³ Emmy Irobi, p.21-22

¹⁰⁴ Pwang K. Robert, *Boundaries And History in Africa*, Langaa RPCIG, Bamenda, Cameroon 2013 p213

¹⁰⁵ Décret No 77/245 du 15 juillet 1977 portant organisation des chefferies traditionnelles, modifié et complété par le décret no 82/241 du 24 juin 1982

republic. Moreover, to achieve national unity objective, the strategy had consisted in the realization of equilibrium between different ethno-regional groups. Pierre-Flambeau Ngayap explains it in the following words: “The research of great geopolitical equilibrium has always been constancy in the setting-up of Ahidjo’s governments. Moreover, he reassured that the regional representations were effective, and that the major geopolitical equilibrium be respected. Inside each province and at the same time, he realized a micro-dosing which overlapped to geopolitical macro-equilibrium (balance). This allowed a better management of ethnic groups which constituted socio-political realities.”¹⁰⁶

Fogui shows how the ethno-regional balance was a principle of governing the country and strengthening national unity by the President of the Republic Ahidjo. Many works show that this balance was through a cooption of different ethno-regional leaders groups. The ideology of Ahmadou Ahidjo, his great design was held in two words: national unity. The method to carry out this project was chosen, that is, unification by the highest hierarchy of the State. Jean-Pierre Fogui¹⁰⁷ is therefore right to say that the work of integration achieved since the independences in Cameroon is a mostly institutional phenomenon from above, which is slow to reach the society as a whole and enter mentalities. The whole history of Cameroon under President Ahidjo had been the one of the unifying of both the State and the party, following a process that’s the stages had been determined by the sense of opportunism of the decision maker.¹⁰⁸

The leaders of Cameroon after independence and unification have opted for a Jacobin state. The ethno-regional diversity and multiparty constituted an obstacle for the nation building according for these leaders. The strategies implemented in the building of the nation were the suppression of a multiparty system, the non tolerance of ethno-regional expression in the public area. This approach, undergone several critics of people who thought all these measures were set up to reinforce and maintained the power of the leader. Thus, during Ahmadou Ahidjo era and half of Paul Biya’s office,

¹⁰⁶ Ngayap (P.F), *Cameroun qui gouverne ? D’Ahidjo à Biya, l’héritage et l’enjeu*, Paris, L’Harmattan, 1983, p. 80-83

¹⁰⁷ Fogui Jean Pierre, *L’intégration politique au Cameroun. Une analyse centre-périphérie*, Paris, LGDJ, 1990, p. 336

¹⁰⁸ Gaillard (Ph), *Ahmadou Ahidjo. Patriote et despote, bâtisseur de l’Etat camerounais*, Paris, Jeune Afrique livres, 1994, p. 9

the issue of ethnicity was not conceived as a mode of expression of different identities. However, the return to multiparty system saw ethno-regional identities re-emerged.

2.2.3. Pluralism Era: Ethnicization and Regionalization of National Identity

In the 1992 constitution that had been modified, the factors of this national identity are henceforth both the ethnic group and the region. Luc Sindjoun considers this National Identity as a segmented national identity, which means that the Cameroonian national identity is made up of many sub-identities which are the ethnic and regional identities. This idea inspired Emile Mbarga when he speaks about the Cameroonian political system: the current political system is the result of the ethno-cultural diversity of the country.¹⁰⁹ This assertion is seen in the constitution and the other laws governing the organization of administrative competitive entrance exams. So during this period, national identity was transformed by giving an important place to sub-national identities. This took place via the importance that was given to ethno-regional identities in the constitution, and also the systematization of regional balance policy.

2.2.3.1. Constitutionalization of Ethno-regionalism

During monolithic period, ethno-regional identities were not tolerated in the public area. With the reintroduction of democratic system, ethnicity became an important principle of governance in Cameroon. This new trend is evident due to; firstly, through the place given to the ethnic groups and regions in the definition of the constitution. In effect, during the modification of the constitution of 1996, many ethno-regional groups had been consulted and it is in this framework that the valorisation of ethnicity is located. The launching of the “national debate” which aimed the reform of the constitution in March 1996 was a particular opportunity of provisional indeterminacy of the national identity which fosters the appearance in the public sphere of the enterprises that represent regions or ethnic groups, the enterprises which take the floor only for the good of ethnic groups or regions.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, Sindjoun asserts that

¹⁰⁹ Mbarga, p.13

¹¹⁰ Sindjoun, p.32

ethnic group or region appears as the place of the taking the floor about the constitutional reform. The constitutionnalization of ethno-regionalism by introduction of words such as "Minorities", "indigenous" and "allogeneic" in the constitution. In fact, this designation suggests that some people have more rights than others over some areas. For instance, in the regional councils, the head of this council must be held by an indigenous member. It's express as follows in the constitution, The Regional Council shall be headed by an autochthonous of the Region elected from among its members for the life of the Council.¹¹¹ This means that in each area of the national territory, there are some people with more right (indigenous) than others (allogeneic) or foreigners. This tendency of ethicizing national identity is also regulated by law.

2.2.3.2. Politisation of Ethno-regionalism: The Quota Policy and Decentralization

Ethnicization and regionalization of the national identity are also observable through the policy of regional balance, which is definitely the consequence of the claims carried by different ethno-regional groups. This policy aims to establish a certain balance between all the different ethnic-regional groups towards the integration in the public administration.

A decree (No 75/496 of July 3, 1975), modified and completed by another decree in 1982 (No 82/407 of September 7, 1982), lays down quota for places in all the civil administration and military advanced schools, following the "province of origin" of the parents of the candidates. Article 56 of the 1982 decree states that:

(1) In the framework of the order that launches every administrative competitive entrance examination in the different categories of the public service, the minister in charge of the public service allocates the places between the candidates following their provinces of origin, and can book some places to the former militaries. (2) The minister in charge of the public service through a particular decision establishes the quota of places for the candidates from each province, taking into consideration the demographic data and the rate of schooling of each candidate's province of origin as well as the former

¹¹¹ Cameroon's Constitution, Article 57, (3), 1996, p.28

militaries, without distinction of origin. (3) The province of origin of a candidate is the province from where his/her legal parents are native.

The implementing order of this decree (No 010467/MPT/DC of October 4, 1982) specifies in its article 2 the percentages of this ethnic distribution of places: “Taking into consideration the demographic data and the schooling rate of each region, the quota of places for the native candidates from each province as well as the former militaries are established as follows: Centre-South Province: 19%; East Province: 4%; Littoral Province: 12%; North Province: 30%; North-West Province: 12%; West Province: 13%; South-West Province: 8%; former militaries: 2%”. With all these texts, the ethnic factor (represented by the notion of the origin of parents) combines with the factor of simple citizenship in order to determine the chances of each candidate in a competitive entrance examination. On average equal, the candidates do not have the same chance to succeed. That’s why we face significant differences between the performances of a candidate from a region who succeeds while a more deserving candidate fails because he/she belongs to a region where the performances of candidates are generally higher¹¹².

Decentralization, which is a process whereby the central State assigns some duties and means of public action to the local communities, definitely opens interesting perspectives for autonomy and participation of the communities. The constitution stated this principle as follow in Article 1: *(2) The Republic of Cameroon shall be a decentralized unitary State. -It shall be one and indivisible, secular, democratic and dedicated to social service. -It shall recognize and protect traditional values that conform to democratic principles, human rights and the law. -It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law*¹¹³ But, it is also problematic (for the case of Cameroon) compared to the unitary form of the State, the freedom of movement, and the political rights of citizens. The inclusion of ethnicity in the local representation must necessarily take into account the phenomenon of social mobility, as well as the fluctuating characteristic of ethnic identities such are interethnic marriages, . Thus, some people argue that the decentralization had helped to prevent crises and to pacify the states. The pressures of identity claims and the socio-political crisis that have marked the recent history of Africa had shown that decentralization was a necessity.

¹¹² Bonda, 2003, p.36

¹¹³ Cameroon’s Constitution 1996

Despite its variants (between former French and British colonies), decentralization had appeared everywhere as a concession made by the political leaders in power to obtain the social peace.

Reached at the end of this chapter, which retraces the history of national construction of Cameroon, we realized that this story has several stages. But especially the issue of ethno-regional identities have held a fundamental place. Thus it was found that after independence, national construction was made by the adoption of a Jacobin state. The strategy of its leaders was to silence ethnic groups, by establishing a monolithic state, which was promoting citizenship, patriotism and national unity. Multiparty system was considered as breaks for nation building. But after the democratic opening occurred in the 1990s, freedom of speech and association that constitute the pillars of democracy will allow the boom of identity closure that will bring ethnicity to settle in the public and political field. During this period among the factors of national identity, ethno-regional identities are become elements on which national identity is constructed. There emerges a significant observation here. Indeed, on the one hand, monolithic period seems to appear as the period that has strengthened national unity on the other hand, multiparty system looks like weakening nation building. Such conclusion is incorrect because it is generally accepted that monolithic systems use centralism to strengthen their power and control over the country. Besides, democracy appear to have enabled the development of ethnicity, because in democratic system freedom of association and speech must be respected. This happened with ethno-regional demands, Claims carried by political entrepreneurs who exploit both democratic principles and populations to achieve their personal goal.

CHAPTER THREE

MEMORANDUM AND ITS EFFECTS ON CAMEROON'S NATIONAL IDENTITY

Political participation can take various forms; in Cameroon, ethno-regional groups have chosen a singular form of political participation. This form is designated by the term of memorandum. This term in the field of political science does not refer to a form of political participation. What is a memorandum in Cameroon socio-political context? Because one of the most important manifestation of ethno-regional identities polarization in Cameroon since the advent of democracy is without a doubt the memorandum phenomenon, Why this form of political participation can affect negatively the national identity building in Cameroon?

3.1. Ethno Regional demands via the Memorandum

From the end of the 20th century, we will remember two important movements facing the nation-states, especially those of the third world and particularly those of Africa. Globalization which from the exterior penetrate the boundaries of states and the local claims which from the inside disturbing national cohesion.¹¹⁴ There is much concern within most researches who try to understand the identical claims which multiplied following the political liberalization in Cameroon in 1990. This political liberalization according to Mbarga come up with some violence caused by ethno-regional identity withdrawal, he declared that: The political liberalization of the 1990 saw violence settle itself and ethnic felling or even “tribalistics” spread in a degree never seen in our country.¹¹⁵ What is included in the notion of memorandum, when this

¹¹⁴ Philipe, Christian et Soldatos cité par Kayo Sikombe, L'ethnicité en Afrique: l'instrumentalisation des ethnies dans le processus de construction de l'état au Cameroun, 2002, p. 6

¹¹⁵ Ndi Mbarga, 1993:133 and SS; Collectif change Cameroon, 1992 and 1994

phenomenon came in the political area in Cameroon, how is it structured, and furthermore what impact is it having in nation building process in Cameroon?

3.2.1. Memorandum: Conceptual Clarification

Before dealing with the concept of memorandum, we need to clarify ethno-regional, demand concepts. These three words: “ethnic” defined by Smith, as, “a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of a common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity”.¹¹⁶ Regional involved an administrative division, it is a division which allows the organization of administration on a territorial base. Cameroon is constituted by 10 administrative regions; Demands are actions that could be taken by ethnic groups in order to have a collective asset or advantages. In the political field, there are specific means used to draw the attention of the deciders in order to participate in the political life. Among these means we have petitions, protest, elections and many other actions can be mobilized to make one cause heard of. We will retain in our study a phenomenon calling “the memorandum” in Cameroon. For a better understanding, it will be wise to provide the different definitions given to this concept and then show his meaning in the case of Cameroon. It will be worth to tracing its origin, evolution and his content in the sociopolitical context of Cameroon.

Generally, when talking about the memorandum, there are definitions and meanings usually given by dictionaries.

- A short note designating something to be remembered, especially something to be done or acted upon in the future; reminder.
- A record or written statement of something.
- An informal message, especially one sent between two or more employees of the same company, concerning company business:
an interoffice memorandum.
- *Law-* a writing, usually informal, containing the terms of a transaction.
- *Diplomacy* a summary of the state of an issue, the reasons for a decision agreed on,

¹¹⁶ Smith, Anthony D, National Identity, London: Penguin, p.14

- A document transferring title to goods, but authorizing the return of the goods to the seller at the option of the buyer.

Thus the term memorandum can be used in different field such as law, economy, diplomacy, etc. In Cameroon the term memorandum is used with the general meanings, but also to means a form of political participation.

In the case of socio-political context of Cameroon, the memorandum takes another meaning. It means “The fact that people from one origin, one department, one ethnic group uniting and addressing to the head of State demands for their land, in terms of investments, universities, administrative positions, infrastructures, etc.”¹¹⁷

Saibou defines it as a letter written by the elite of an ethnic group addressed to the highest authority of the state, which is the President of the Republic to express the difficulties faced by their group of belonging and for this reason, an immediate reaction is required. According to Assana it is a new form of political participation next to more classical forms such as voting, belonging to a political party or electoral participation etc.¹¹⁸

Doctor Mathias Owona Nguini during an interview to know: what analysis does he have about the different memoranda being observed in Cameroon? He answer that, the production of memoranda has become a particularly mobilized form of political action. These memoranda are means of expressions used by ethnic lobbies in order to be heard by the political and administrative authorities.¹¹⁹

The ethno regional claims are thus a group of collective demands from an ethnic or regional group addressed to the highest authority of the state to ask for collective advantages, or to denounce the exclusion or damages to which they are victims.

¹¹⁷ Albert Mandjack, « ‘Le triangle équilatéral du Cameroun’. L’hypothèse du pouvoir confisqué de Roger Gabriel Nlep », *Revue camerounaise de droit et de science politique/Cameroonian review of law and political science*, 5^e année, n°3, mars 2011, 5th year, n°3, march 2011, p. 89.

¹¹⁸ Assana Assana, « *Memoranda* et démocratisation dans l’Adamaoua (Cameroun) : mutation des modes de participation politique ou entreprise d’instrumentalisation ? », *Droit et cultures* [En ligne], 68 | 2014-2, mis en ligne le 11 décembre 2014, [access 28.10.2015]. URL : <http://droitcultures.revues.org/3479>, p. 68

¹¹⁹ Owona Nguini, Eric Mathias, interview realized by Beaugas-Orain Djoyum, 10th March 2009, <http://beaugasorain.blogspot.com.tr/2009/03/mathias-eric-owona-nguini-paul-biya-se.html> [access 25.2.2015}

Thereby, how memorandum is structured, what is their frequency, what is their evolution in time and space and what is their future in relation with national identity? So far this method of political participation has been utilized by groups, being it ethnic or regional. This justifies its necessity and importance to take this phenomenon seriously.

3.2.2. History and Origin of Memorandum in Cameroon

The phenomenon of Memorandum undoubtedly originates from the 1990s following political liberalization in Cameroon. The democratic opening in the 1990s came along with a certain freedom of identity expression being it ethnic or regional. It is during this period that some big ethno regional gatherings emerged, such as the LAAKAM of the Bamilekes, the Group of Friend from the Equatorial Forest (GFEF) for the Beti, the South-West elite Association (SWELA) of the BAKWERI and the North-West Elite Association (NWELA). For the NSO, the Kirdi Cultural Dynamic (KCD) regrouped the non-Muslims elites of North Cameroon etc. It is within these ethno regional associations that emerged the idea of writing these memoranda. With the apparent objective to denounce the marginal situation of some communities compared to others.¹²⁰ Mémorandums framework is very well structured because it is inside of associations that they are produced. These associations therefore looks like lobbies, in this regards, memorandum becomes a very important phenomenon that we have to analyze seriously.

As we mentioned before this form of political participation came from the period of political liberalization in the 1990s, it was a group of Bamilekes intellectual initiative. The letter was entitled “*The letter of Bamilekes dignitaries*” addressed to the President of Republic to present him with the situation of this regional group. This letter denounces the marginalization to which they are subjected from the colonial period till the time of independence.

The Bamilekes are a group of people living in Western Cameroon, Wikipedia defines *them as the ethnic group which is now dominant in Cameroon's West and Northwest Regions. It is part of the Semi-Bantu (or Grassfields Bantu) ethnic group. The Bamileke are regrouped under several groups, each under the guidance of*

¹²⁰ Collectif Changer le Cameroun, 1992

a chief or Fon. Nonetheless, all of these groups have the same ancestors and thus share the same history, culture, and languages. They speak a number of related languages from the Bantoid branch of the Niger–Congo language family. These languages are closely related, however, and some classifications identify a Bamileke dialect continuum with seventeen or more dialects.

This method of participation was then used in the Northern region of the country, with the “Kirdi” memorandum. The phenomenon was also deported to the Eastern region which involves many departments. This method was also used by people from Littoral region, the South, Centre and even those from the Anglophone regions.

3.2.3. Memorandum Structure

The memorandum puts forward the literate elite of the ethnic or regional groups, who through a letter, positioned themselves as the speakers of the groups that they intend to carry messages and demands to the head of state. Memoranda are usually written in English and French. It is composed with a simple text, rarely illustrated, no having any photography. It requires a certain level of literary competence. This is why it is used by people who have the competence and the elite status.¹²¹

So authors and actors of memoranda production are literate elites. This observation is important because it can prove that the production of the memorandum is the result of the elites and not a popular action.

We can equally distinguish: anonymous memoranda, those coming from a region, from an ethnic group, or a recognition work group and lastly those bearing a signature but not identifiable (dissident group from an ethnic group). In our case of study, we give exclusive interest to the memoranda emanating from a region or from a fairly identified ethnic group.

The memorandum has various forms. We observe memoranda having the profiles of big ethno-regional coalitions, involving the elite representing all the ethnic segments of a region, like the memorandum Du Grand Nord of 2003, this memorandum was written by the elites of three regions; or also memorandum of small ethnic groups

such as Kirdi memorandum of non-Muslim population in the region of Adamwa.¹²² The quasi totality of the ten regions of Cameroon has produced at least one memorandum.

3.2.3.1.Demands Contained in the Memorandum

Demands contained in the memorandum can be grouped into two sections: Demands relating to resource allocations and demands concerning the representativeness or more precisely the right to represent a specific group. These are clearly the center-periphery model and the argument of the political minority where groups denounce their marginalization.

3.2.3.1.1. Demands relating to Resource Allocation and Social Goods

An analysis of the various memoranda shows that many are still trying to prove that the resources granted to one region or ethnic group are insignificant and also that these resources do not permit the development of those groups. Therefore, these groups considered themselves as peripheral group. To illustrate this, we found this example, formulated by ethnic group in eastern Cameroon demanding the construction of school and university infrastructures.

The East region uneducated is not well endowed in term of school and university infrastructure. The construction of an Institute of Wood Technology in Bertoua and the construction of the annex to the faculty of medicine started in Yokadouma are projecting now sunk into oblivion without remorse. Training schools created in recent years have never emerged. Deputies who created this memorandum do not forget the lack of road infrastructure; the eastern region is mired in an isolated location of the showiest. In simple terms: the East still has no roads! Added to this is the lack of supply infrastructure for drinking water and rural electrification. We can remember about that murderous event on September 2007 in Abong-Mbang: two students were shot dead because they were demonstrating, like other students, they're fed up to the breakdown

¹²² Assana Assana, <http://droitcultures.revues.org/3397> [access 24.2.2016]

*quasi permanent of electrical energy in this forest location (Cameroon-Info.Net).*¹²³

3.2.3.2. Requests concerning the Representativeness or more precisely the Right to Represent

Ethno-regional claims are multiform and diverse. Indeed, in memoranda, groups often put forward the fact that they are not represented or adequately represented where decisions are making or taking in the State. So they considered themselves as belonging to the political minorities or as members of the peripheral excluded to the power and marginalizing for the profit of others groups. This is for example the case of the memorandum of elites in Adamawa region (Cameroon) who addressed to the "Head of State" a memorandum made public on 4 October 1991 on the development backwardness and frustrated hopes. In this memorandum, the authors denounce by opposing themselves to other regions: The concentration of ministerial posts in the only northern region and more precisely in the department of Benoue. According to them, this region has not political potential. One of the strengths of this memorandum is the recognition of positions held by nationals of the region called *"Divisional officers 9 of 520; Senior divisional officers 2 of 49; Provincial Delegates 1 in 300; secretary-general of ministries 1 of 30; CEOs of semi public companies, 0, directors of central services: 5 out of 300 "*. Hence the following conclusion: "... frustration is felt within the population whose son feel they have-account..."

Another illustrative example is the memorandum of Deputies of the Eastern Region. The memorandum of the Eastern Region deputies also used the same process in the following terms: a weak administrative framework, the large distance between the administration and people. The signatories of the memorandum also challenge Paul Biya "on access to high office and to high positions. How are they to lead a constitutional body, to direct the State companies, the military regions, state universities, training of large schools, diplomatic missions?"¹²⁴. According to the writers of memorandum the fact that the people of their region or their ethnic group are not

¹²³ Cameroon-Info.Net, <http://www.cameroon-info.net/stories/0,24593,@,l-est-la-pauvrete-et-le-memorandum.html> [Access 24.11.2015]

¹²⁴ Cameroon-Info.Net

numerous at these top positions is the clear indicator of their marginalization and the injustice that they are victims.

Having regard to the importance of this phenomenon of memorandum, it is necessary to investigate on his potential disastrous effects on national identity.

3.3. Consequences of Memorandum on Nation Building in Cameroon

Ethnicity can be used in identifying the membership of an individual to a group and its values, and at the same time it provides elements of differentiation from other similar groups. It constitutes a positive element to ethnic phenomenon when it is searching to bring out the origins of the people or an individual; it led to the request of an identity in the respect and estimation of an ethnic group. It is further utilized as a criterion of opposition and confrontation between two or more different groups, and therefore is comparable to tribalism which is the discrimination whose the devastating effects is deplored in African countries and elsewhere.

In this section, we will present the impact of memorandum on diverse levels. The consequences of ethno-regional claims could affect in the long run first and foremost the national integration that encompasses the ideas of political community, equality rights and unified economy. Indeed, the concept of integration supposes the capability for citizens to move freely in their homeland without restrictions and without obstacles in the practice of economic exchange and especially equality between all its members. Yet, the practice of memoranda has been a practice that seeks to gain advantages in resources and some rights for a particular group. This state of affairs can negatively affected nation building because instead to bring people together, it creates the rivalries between the groups; furthermore weaken the pillars of national identity such as national unity, democracy, patriotism etc.

3.3.1. On the National Unity

The impact of the memorandum can bring to the dislocation of the state. Fonchingong outline this treat on national unity as follow, Parochialism and sectionalism, some of the fallout of the fusion of West and East Cameroon marked by the spatial and demographic superiority of the French speaking region, dictates the pace

of tribalism and ethnic divisions in Cameroon's plural society that re-emerged in the 1990s. In the political atmosphere, the Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC), an Anglophone pressure, movement, is clamoring either for complete autonomy for the two English speaking provinces of Cameroon or a return to a federated system of government.¹²⁵ This state of affairs is encouraged by the need of some political leaders to stay in the power. The segmentation visible within the Cameroonian society has followed a political response to the ethnic factors in most African countries. The identity and ethnic question couched within a more African regional dynamic show new agencies coming from the fore and facing the often-desperate attempts of an older generation of political elites to maintain dominance. The case of Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia; Darfur-Sudan and recently Togo exemplifies this situation.¹²⁶

In addition, according to the Sheriff's reel theory of conflicts (1966), the relations between groups can either be competitive or conflicting. When groups are in competition in the acquisition of scarce and valuable resources, be it concrete (material and territorial wealth) or abstract (power, symbolic means), conflicts emerged. On the other hand, in situations where the acquisitions of scarce and valuable resources required a mutual consecration of the different group to attain the common objective –or supra ordered goal-, there are harmony and cooperation amongst the different groups. This is an objective characteristic of the situation which determines the nature of relations between social groups- competitive groups or cooperation leading to the appearance of pre notions and pro-endo group's bias.¹²⁷ The phenomenon of memoranda in Cameroon mostly revealed a situation of competition between groups rather than cooperation. Studying the different memorandum, we realized that some groups are often accused implicitly or explicitly because of the nature and content of their memorandum. Clear examples are observed from the Kirdi in the Adamawa which raised their accusations on the Fulani for the important place they occupy in the national institutions of the Republic at their detriments. Another example is that of the Douala accusing the Bamileke ethnic group.

¹²⁵Fonchingong, Charles C.Exploring the Politics of Identity and Ethnicity in State Reconstruction in Cameroon, Vol. 11, No. 4, July Routeledge, 2005, p366

¹²⁶Charles C. Fonchingong, p. 367

¹²⁷Licata L. La théorie de l'identité sociale et la théorie de l'auto catégorisation : le Soi, le groupe et le changement social. Revue électronique de Psychologie Sociale, n°1, 2007, pp. 19-33,

This situation of competition is outlined by Kauza quoted by Vubo as follows: ‘Any ethnic group aimed at seeing his son’s occupying important functions of the state in order to bring food at home. Employment in the public services is a source of pride for those ethnic groups that feels to be in high positions. The fact of serving in the public administration is regarded as being a symbol of power and superiority of the ethnic group or equality with other ethnics (...) ethnics groups believe in one thing (...) if there are not represented in the process of decisions on matters of public policies the probability is high of being marginalized in the attribution of services and opportunities of development, on programs and projects for their benefit.

3.3.1.1. On Patriotism: Competition of Allegiances

Patriotism (from the Latin patria, meaning ‘fatherland’) is a sentiment, a psychological attachment to one's nation, literally a ‘love of one's country’. The terms, nationalism and patriotism are often confused. Nationalism has a doctrinal character and embodies the belief that the nation is in some way the central principle of political organization. Patriotism provides the affective basis for that belief, and thus underpins all forms of nationalism. It is difficult to conceive of a national group demanding, say, political independence without possessing at least a measure of patriotic loyalty or national consciousness.¹²⁸ Given the fact that national identity and ethnic identity are two different social groups, the possibility of competition is evident when we consider political participation through memorandum. If patriotism is the attachment of an individual to his fatherland, the fatherland defines as a modern Nation - State, there is also attachment that an individual has for their ethnic groups (ethnonationalism). The fact that some citizens, members of specific are promoted in the public services or other important positions due to the lobbying via the memorandum makes by the elites of his ethnic group, this individual can develop more sympathy and being grateful for his group more than for his nation. Thus the patriotism is challenged by ethno-regional feeling. These citizens promoted by the action of the ethnic or regional group also will become the ethno-regional interest advocates. This kind of behavior may cause ineluctably an important problem for nation building. Besides, Eke contributes to demonstrate these disastrous trends by outlining the fact that the nation is divided amongst ethno-regional groups in competitions. In this case, the public domain is not

¹²⁸ Heywood, p.135

more composed of citizens within an indivisible territory, but instead a space shared between ethnic groups mediating with the State. Before raising the negativity of ethnicization, it should be noticed that the increase of requests by ethnic groups results from their access to public space or in the center of articulation of collective policies that existed before the birth of the modern State (Ekeh 1975). Such situation can lead to dreadful confrontations in the future.

Vubo (2011) shows that the problem of the relationship between ethnic facts and the phenomenon of ethnicity on one hand, and the State on the other hand, is questionable in terms of a particularism/Universalism dilemma of the modern policies in which the construction of the public domain is primordial. The status and place of social contract as a fundaments of social contracts is questioned because of the community competition allegiance.

From the perspective of an efficiency of actions, there are important questions to be asked for example, who are the principle and the veritable beneficiary or instigators of these actions. According to Doctor Eric Mathias Owona Nguini during an interview on the question that follows: Are memoranda the expression of the whole population or the expression of only particular socio-political groups?

The logics that governed the production of memoranda are principally that of auto-investiture and auto proclamation. Concretely, those who produced the memorandum position themselves as speakers of a community to which they belong without having been mandated by their community to act in their name. This is considering being some sort of political patronage in the field of politics. In this context, the authors of memoranda can constitute a challenge to the power in place because of their capacity of mobilization of the population against the central power. The elites in their memoranda use to consider the social problems as an act of discrimination by the State towards the community that they represent. Most often, unanswered demands stimulate frustrations in the community and the State is forced to propose some individual gains to such elites in order to make them abdicate their demands. In exchange, those elites mobilize the population to support the State in the framework of the policy of affection.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Sindjoun, 1998

3.3.2. On Citizenship

Ethno-regional demands express in the form of memorandum in a specific manner can constitute a menace for Cameroonian citizenship. This risk can be observed when we link citizenship to democracy in which Cameroon is engaged. In fact, the notion of citizenship is linked to that of democracy.

A citizen is one with the right to participate in the exercise of political power in different forms and notably through electoral choice. The citizen is one that govern and at the same it he is governed. For exercise these double roles, the citizen need to have autonomy, a faculty of judgment and a loyalty to the political community.¹³⁰ The citizens are not often consulted during the writing of memoranda and may not have mandated that authors. Due to this, the right as conferred by the laws is violated without his consents. When we observe the behaviors of groups during elections, be it ethnic or regional groups, we realize that the candidates to whom there give their votes are those that they have some ethnic or regional affinities without any rational calculation of the possibilities of these candidates to win. At times the demographic weight of the group of appurtenance of such candidate is not strong enough to make him win. In order to illustrate the trend between voting behavior and ethno-regional groups Helene-Laure MENTHONG notes that the meaning of vote in Cameroon is conditioned by ethno-regional and socio-linguistics belongings. Identification by region, ethnicity and language (French or English languages) equally play a determinant role during the electoral process and correspond to the moment where the fate of local communities in Cameroon is decided.¹³¹

Political parties reproduce ethnic divisions at the detriment of constructive approach of identification and representation despite the fact that the numbers of political parties, does not match with the ethnic groups. The ethnic group as a source-cultural category is characterized by a community base in ways of being, doing, feeling, values. This appears to be a fabrication leading to naturalization and whose effect is to produce the distinction and exalt the ideal of the leaders.

¹³⁰ Martinello Marco, *La Citoyenneté a l'aube du 21e siècle: questions et enjeux*; Les Editions De L'universite De Liege, 2000, p. 15

¹³¹ Helène-Laure MENTHONG p. 42

A common behavior was developed in community groups and leads to the emergence of major ethno-regional gatherings such as: Laakam of Bamileke, the Circle of Friends of the rainforest (CAFE) of Beti, the South West Elite Association (SWELA) in Bakweri, the North -West elite Association (NWELA) in Nso, the cultural dynamics Kirdi (DCK) gathering non-Muslim elites of northern Cameroon etc.¹³²

The absence of a judicial framework to regulated the production and diffusion of memoranda in a country that has a plurality of ethnics and cultural groups such as Cameroon.¹³³ There is a complete silence of the laws on the instrumental and manipulator logics that prevails in the practices of memoranda. In the absence of such strict judicial norms, memoranda can be produced in a perverted manner, hence distorting the process of democratization and national integration in Cameroon. Memoranda can equally be anti-democratic since it refuses to admit the law of the majority, the democratic authorities, the State of law, exercising blackmail for a so called social peace.¹³⁴ Furthermore, we understand the excessive tone of Pierre Favre and Olivier Filleule according to which it is inaccurate to consider today that they exist an extension of forms of expressions and exercise of democracy notably by direct actions. Memorandum base on transgressions are often symbolic, and cannot be considered by his authors as “democratic forms of participations” Assana in effect, memoranda can be considered as an instrument of democratic consolidation when it constitutes a mechanism of demand of right and liberty consecrated by law. It covers the absence of modern constitutional law that proclaimed the sovereignty of people without evicting popular initiative means of the expressing these sovereignty (art 2).

The production and diffusion of the memoranda have to be governed by rules of laws in order to counter animosities between autochthones (natives) and allogeneic. The memorandum has to look for national consensus not hatred between ethnic groups that contribute to fragile the state. In other words, the mobilization of the community toward the production of memoranda should not be affected when faced with threats of enemies attack. Equally, it should not be impregnated with a climate of rumors or question link

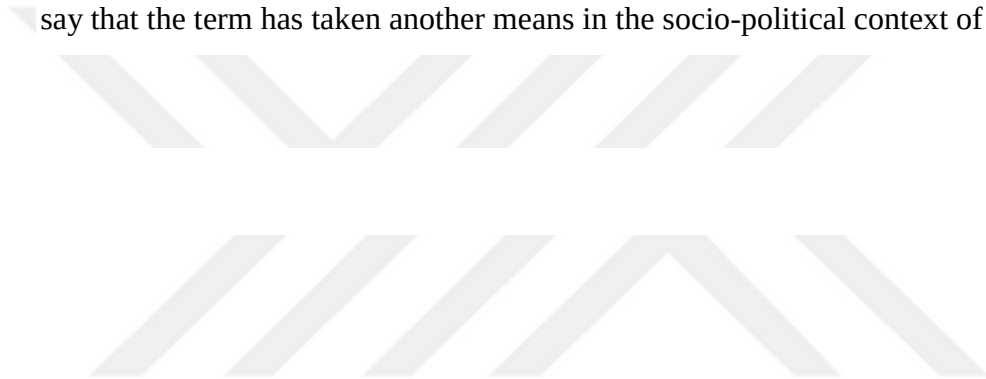
¹³² Collectif changer le Cameroun, 1992

¹³³ Nicholas 337-378

¹³⁴ Polere, p.5

to plotting against the central powers because it is the virulence of speeches that appear in the memorandum. Inversely, memoranda cannot only be apprehended as a mode of political participation because the tone of speeches could refer to insults, irony, and columns. Memoranda's seem not to have as primary objectives socio-political demands, but equally to praise the ethnic qualities or to attack a concurrent ethnic group at the regional level. It supposes the destabilization or delegitimization of concurrent ethnic groups through political manipulations. Hence, memorandas can lead to ethnic confrontation and can prove to be a point conflictual expression.

. At no time the term has been used to refer a political participation mean. We can easily say that the term has taken another means in the socio-political context of Cameroon.



CHAPTER FOUR

INQUIRY ON THE PERCEPTION OF CAMEROONIANS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ETNO- REGIONAL IDENTITIES

5.1. Scope of the research

This chapter focuses on data gathered from graduates who are undoubtedly Cameroon's future leaders. However, interviews were also conducted among undergraduate students. The first sample group was formed from individuals living in the city of Yaoundé (capital city of Cameroon). The second sample group was chosen among students living in Turkey via social network. This study was conducted between July and September 2016. A total of 100 questionnaires has been shared and 75 percent of the responses returned was considered as usable. MS Excel has been used as a tool for data analysis and the results were shown with graphs in this study.

5.2. Purpose and Methodology

The purpose of this inquiry was to have a general perception of Cameroonians on the relationship between national identity and ethno regional identities. Specifically the inquiry aims to collect the opinions that young citizens have on their collective identity. In other words, it aims to investigate within a limited scope if the imagined community in terms of Benedict Anderson's conceptualization about national identity was successfully built in Cameroon. Equally it is a way to know if citizens are aware of the elements that constituted their collective identity as Cameroonians. In addition, it was also to evaluate at the cognitive level the knowledges of the citizens on policies that organized regional and inter-ethnics relationships.

5.3. Limitations of Study

In this chapter the following approach was adopted. First, relevant literature, publications and studies were reviewed in order to get in-depth information on national identity and on national identity building in Cameroon case.

Although the research has thought to be reached its aims, there were some unavoidable limitations. First, because of the period: as the target sample was on the academic vacation period, this research was conducted only on a small size of the population who were attending summer courses at universities. Because of this we found necessary to include other students, using social network, and then we could increase the number of the sample and made it more substantial. Therefore, the results of this inquiry are just a general perception of the subject, rather than an extended analysis.

5.4. Survey Questions, Answers and Analysis

In order to fulfill the survey, 10 questions have been formulated. Find here the questions, answers and graphical representation. Every question will be commented after its graphic.

Question 1: How do you identify yourself in priority?

Question 2: Do you think that your interests are secured more only by the responsible members of your ethnic group?

Question 3: Do you have any knowledge about the practice of the *regional balance policy* in Cameroon?

Question 4: If yes, what do you think of this policy?

Question 5: Do you think that the policy of *regional balance* is necessary to secure justice and peace between ethno-regional groups and the State?

Question 8: Are you more concerned in national celebration such as 11 February and 20 may? Or concerned with traditional celebration of your ethnic group?

Question 9: How do you consider yourself compared to other ethnic groups?

Question 10: Do you believe that Cameroonians are united in joy and pains?

Question 1: How do you identify yourself in priority?

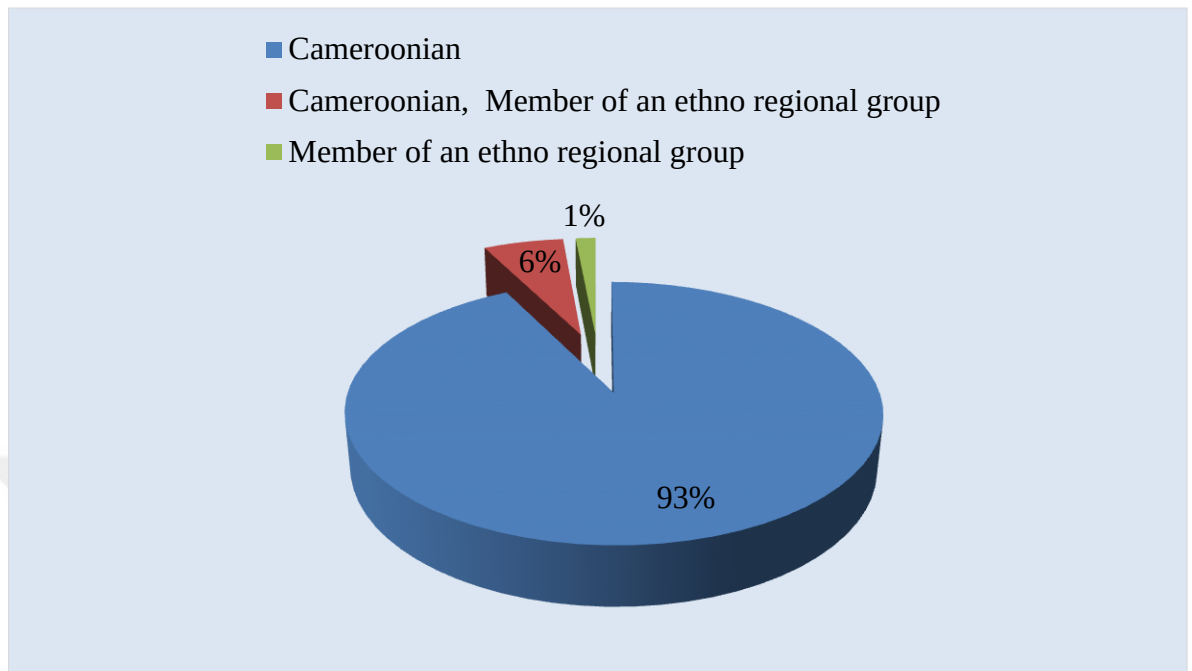


Figure 1: Evaluation of National consciousness

The first question is to assess how the participants identify themselves and three possible answers were given: Cameroonian, member of an ethnic group or both Cameroonian and members of an ethnic group. Through this question we could identify the level of national consciousness of Cameroonian in-between national values or local values (ethnic and regional values).

We can see that 93 percent of our respondents firstly identifies themselves as Cameroonian, 6 percent both as Cameroonian and a member belonging for an ethno-regional group. Only 1 percent affirmed that their principal identity is firstly the one of their ethno-regional group.

This trend shows how young Cameroonians share the will to live together and their primary allegiance to the nation. This is a pretty good approximation of Ernest Renan idea on what is the nation. Indeed Renan outlines the fact that the most important thing to have a nation is the will, the consent of the people to live together. He stated that:

“Languages ask to be united, they do not force it. The United States and England, like Spanish America and Spain, speak the same language but do not

constitute a single nation. By contrast, Switzerland, so well-made because created by the consent of its different parts, contains three or four languages. The desire of Switzerland to be united despite its linguistic variety is a much more important fact than similarity often achieved by humiliation.”¹³⁵

Question 2: Do you think that your interests are secured more only by the responsible members of your ethnic group?

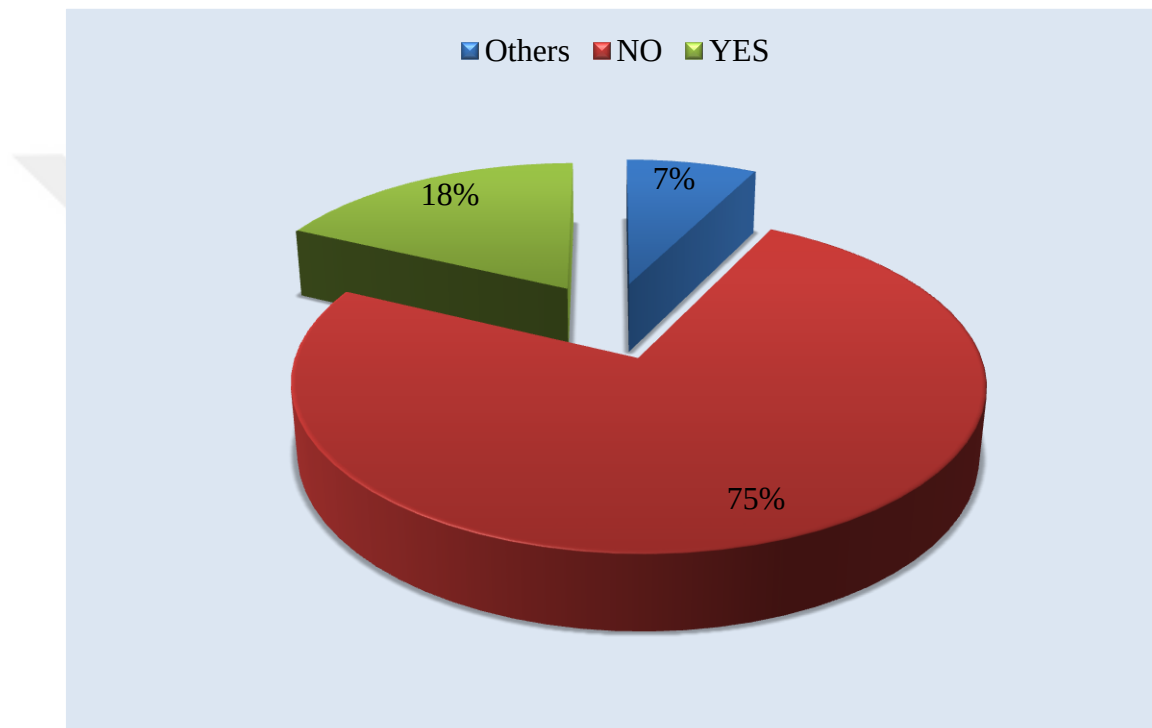


Figure 2: Assessment of ethnic leaders or elites

The aim of this question is to see if collective actions driven by elites of different ethno-regional groups respond to the feelings of citizens.

The tendency shows that 75 percent of Cameroonians do not think that their interests are secured more only by responsible member of their ethnic group. But 18 percent gave an affirmative answer. The results of this graphic reflect the rejection of ethnical leadership. On the other hand comparing with the result of the first question, ethnical bounds still important for some to some extent but it doesn't hinder a national

¹³⁵ Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?", text of a conference delivered at the Sorbonne on March 11th, 1882, in Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*, (translated by Ethan Rundell) Paris, Presses-Pocket, 1992

consciousness with a great scale. While the percentage of those who feel themselves as both Cameroonian and a member of an ethnic group remains 6 %, the representation of interests through political elites of the ethnic group rises % 18. This is possibly because of the political patronage relationship dominating the Cameroonian political life.

This is the reason why we argue that ethnic claims proposed by ethnic leaders may threaten the national identity building process. In other words, political patronage networks based on local identities, which were manipulated by ethnic leaders in order to reach their own political goals, may undermine the national Cameroonian identity. Moreover, this graphic shows us the fact that despite the prioritization of the ethno-regional representation via governmental policies in recent years, three quarter of the young generation Cameroonians prefer the efficiency of political action neglecting the ethnical origin of the political actor. Hence, the President of the Republic via political patronage gives post of responsibilities to those leaders in exchange of subordination to his policies. The hypothesis of our studies is justified here by confirming the rejection of the policy of ethnicization of the political domain.

Question 3: Do you have any knowledge about the practice of the regional balance policy in Cameroon?

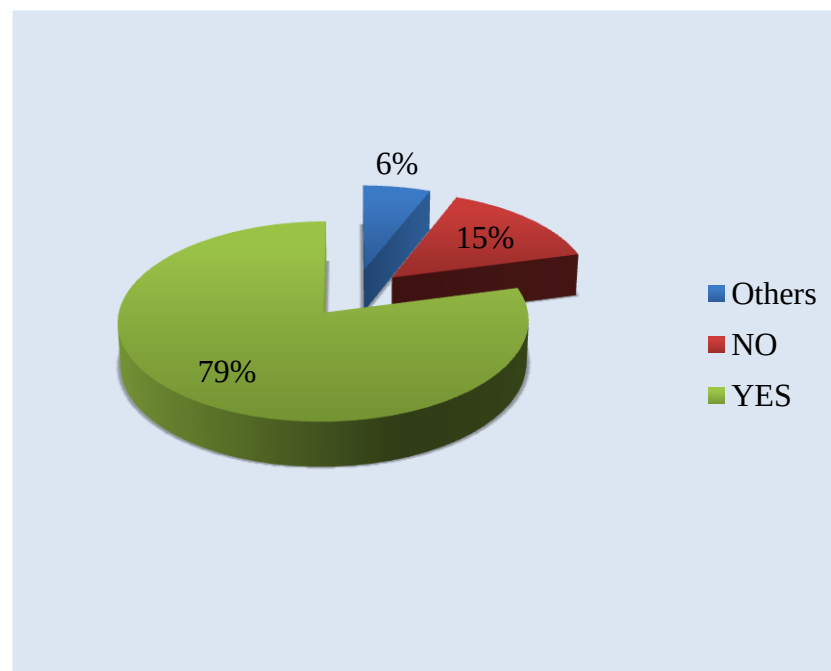


Figure 3: Regional balance and citizen awareness

The aim of the third question was to know if the participants have any knowledge about the policies that regulate inter-ethnics relations and regional balance policy in Cameroon.

The graphic shows that 79% of the respondents are aware of regional balance policy and only 15% was not. We can interpret this result from two points. First, it shows, the interest on politics and state actions is high among young Cameroonians. Secondly, comparing with the results of aforementioned questions, this trend can be interpreted also as the less knowledge on regional balance policy the more support for representation of interest via ethnic political elites.

Question 4: If yes, what do you think of this policy?

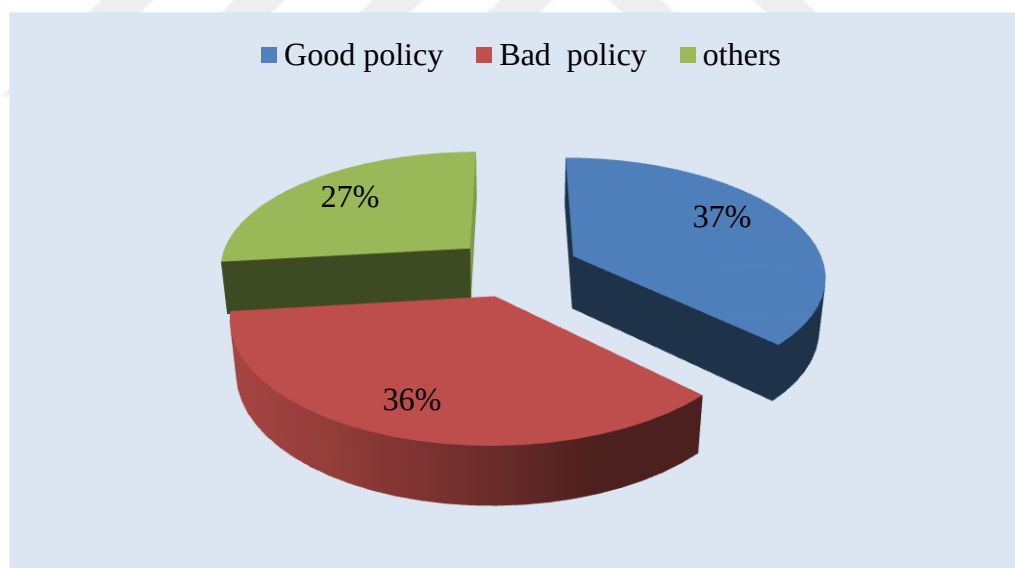


Figure 4: Regional balance policy and citizen perception-1

This question was calling the participants to take a stand on the policy of regional balance by outlining whether it was a good or bad policy.

We can see that the ratio among the percentage that are not so large. It is interesting to see that for those who have knowledge about regional balance theory are

equally divided into three groups. 37% have and positive opinion on this policy, 36 % are not convinced by it. And 27% do not have any position. Then it looks like there is a dilemma

We interpreted the result of question three previously by saying that the supporters of ethnic representation were those with little knowledge concerning this policy. However, when we are looking the results of this actual question, we note that one third of the participant's with knowledge about this policy, found that ethno-regional representation policy is a good policy. The reason of this appearance of contradiction will be given by the responders. In fact, there is no contradiction. If we have more participants of this inquiry declaring that the ethno-regional balance policy is a good policy is because there are supposing that it will permit the development among regions and ethnics, but they are supposing the that the interests of ethnic or regional groups are more secured by ethnic leaders.

The participants who found it right (good) said that it permit to maintain the equilibrium between different ethnic groups, it equally permit to resolve the problems of inequality in the access of instruments of social promotion such as: school, universities and professional training schools etc. These participants raised the fact that the policy was keeping the treats of tribalism and nepotism. Generally, it permits the representatively of all the sociological components of the nation. Some participant's opinions:

According to Abdel Majid student in Yaoundé 2 the regional balance policy, "Is important in the case that it prevent inter-tribal conflicts due to disadvantages resulting in the system of attribution of places in competitive entrance exams in the public services and labor market." ¹³⁶

"I think that it permit a certain equilibrium in the maintenance of peace in the country. Imagine for example that power was only detained by francophone; Cameroon could have been divided by two" ¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Abdoul Madjid, Yaoundé 2 University student, the interview was realized in his dormitory in the town of Soa, 15th September 2015.

¹³⁷ Atabon, Yaoundé2 University Student, the interview was realized in the university campus of University of Soa, 15th September 2015.

For those against the policy, it is limited and somewhere very bad. Their arguments were based on the fact that it generate nepotism and corruption, poor performance and hard work has been sacrificed for justice which in reality is not practiced, because it led to the promotion of stronger groups with power to influence decisions by proceeding through political patronage and the co-optation of youth to which position of responsibility are given. This is the reaction of a student against the policy of ethno-regional balance policy.

“In reality, this policy does not valuably favor the emergence because in the context of aspiring to development we have to recourse meritocracy. The practice of this policy in our country, instead increase the phenomena of tribalism, because each ethnic group is seen to be in possession or owner of at least a Single state institution. In addition, the equilibrium is not respected according to the rules and norms”.¹³⁸

This result is the manifestation of debates we mentioned above on the about the place to give to ethnicity in the political field.

¹³⁸ Njoya, Istanbul University Student, interview realized via social media, 25th Setember 2015.

Question 5: Do you think that the policy of regional equilibrium is necessary to secure justice and peace between ethno-regional groups and the State?

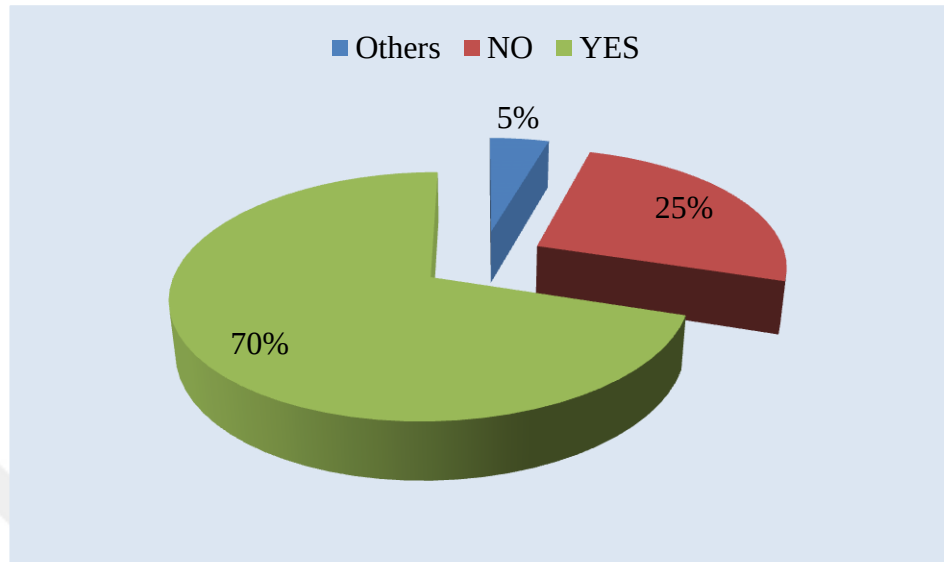


Figure 5: Regional balance policy and citizen perception-2

The fifth question was formulated as followed; do you think that the policy of regional equilibrium is necessary to secure peace and harmony between the different ethnics groups in Cameroon?

The majority of the participants responded in the affirmative. Thus, 70% of those investigated thinks that the policy is the main tool to maintain peace between ethno-regional groups.

25% on the contrary, thinks (believe) that mentalities of people have evolved and the risk to arrive at the level of inter-ethnic wars is low.

This graph settled the debate on the place given to ethnic groups in public space. In effect, despite the fact that the population denied the political ethnicization or politicization of ethnics, there are favorable to a policy that take into account all the ethno-regional components of the country when managing the state, without sacrificing the efficiency of action.

The data of this graph can appear to be contradictory with the answers given upward on ethnical representation and efficiency. In reality, it is not the case because of the introduction of certain criteria of discrimination within the population to assure

equity. These factors can take another form rather than ethnical and regional representation due to the fact that the populations are conscious of the dis-equilibrium in the Cameroonian society.

Question 6: Do you think that some ethno-regional groups are marginalized in the distribution of national wealth?

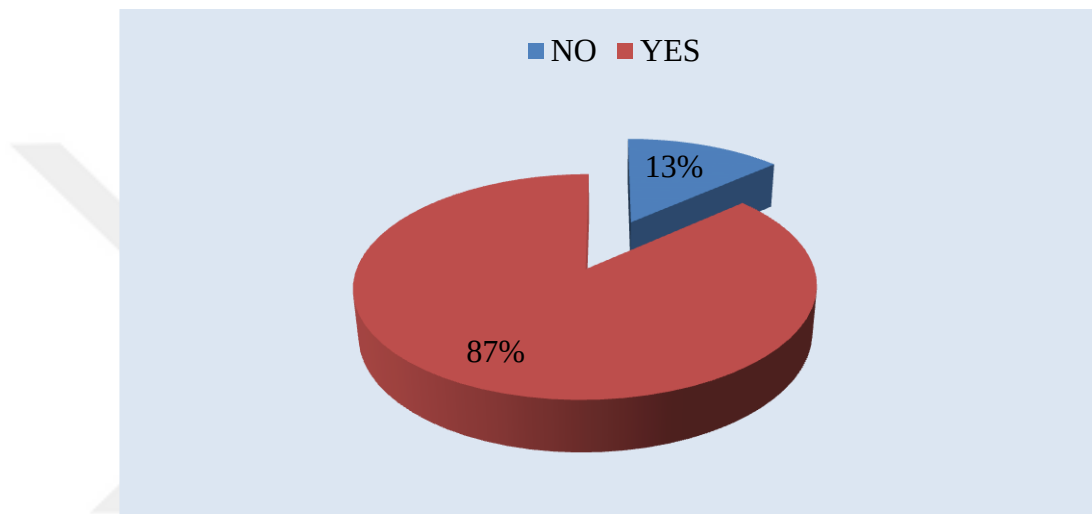


Figure 6: Citizens and the concept of political minority-1

Considering that most of the ethno regional groups have at least established one memorandum, we aimed through this question, to know if all these groups consider themselves as belonging to the political minorities groups.

87% of the sample affirmed that some ethno-regional groups are marginalized in the distribution of national wealth. Only 13% disagreed. The tendency is clear that the concept of political minority takes all its sense.

This illustrates the obvious existence of political discrimination and that policies implemented to solve them are ineffective or not implemented at all. Giving reason than to those who think-in the debate on national identity in Cameroon that, political actions should carry out by making abstraction of ethnicity and rather seek for efficiency so that everyone could find his interest.

These trends can be the justification of the multiplication of memorandum in Cameroon. In fact, ethnic leaders are conscious that, the population is not efficiently taken into consideration by the state authorities. The ethnic leaders uses the frustration of the population which they are contributed as a basis of demands through the production of memorandums. Henceforth, we understand why there is a speedy rate of the production of memorandums in these countries.

Question 7: Do you think that those groups are marginalized because of their ethno-regional affiliation?

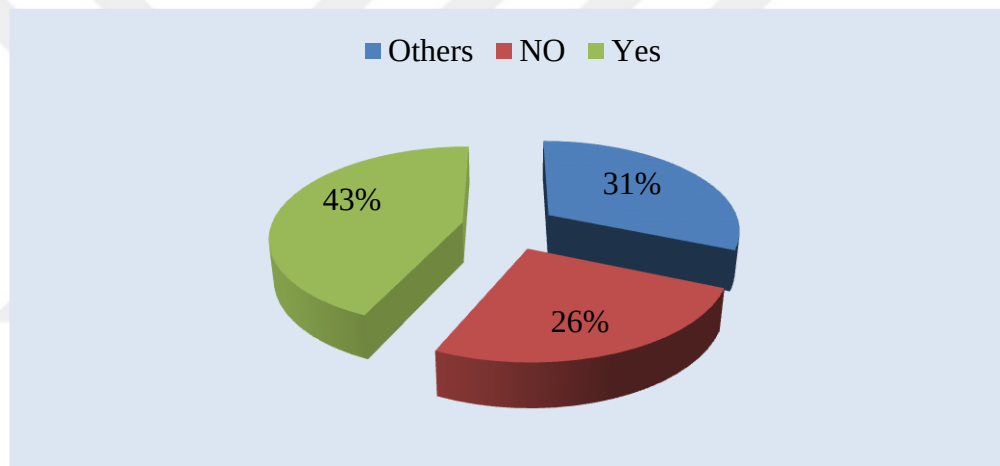


Figure 7: Citizens and the concept of political minority-2

This question is link to the previous one and aims find out if citizens think that those groups where marginalize because of their ethno-regional affiliation.

For those individuals who respond that some ethno-regional groups are marginalized in the distribution of national wealth, 43% stated that this is because if their ethno-regional affiliation.

In our investigations, the participants notified that what justifies the discrimination of certain groups is not their ethno-regional membership that is the cause of their marginalization but the insignificant sociological and political weight of such groups.

The resistance to the central power have equally been raised to justify the marginalization of some groups. In effect, the low representatively of certain groups in high position in the public services is due to their rejection of the ruling majority (political party in power) on power during presidential, legislative and municipal elections.

What is deduced from this part consist of the role played by the governing party in the marginalization of some groups. In effect, the policy of regional equilibrium that is said to be applied is conditioned by the support of ethnic and regional groups during the periods of elections. Clientalism and manipulation occupy an important position in this system.

Question 8: Are you more concerned in national celebration such as 11 February and 20 may, Or during traditional celebrations of your ethnic group?

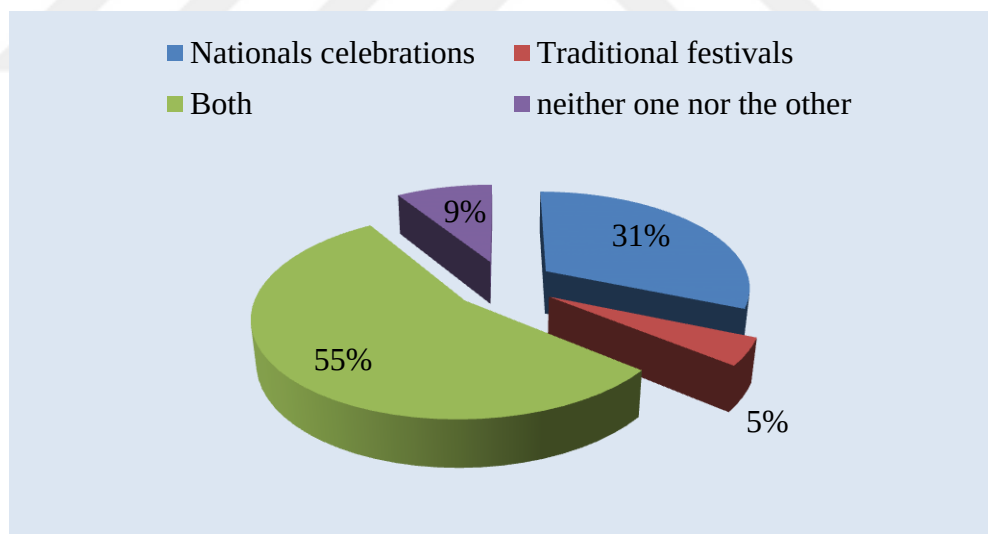


Figure 8: Invention of new traditions

The objective of this question was to determine the place of news traditions -as named by Karl Deusch- in the conception of national identity.

The result indicates that 55% of our sample reveals that they are concerned by both celebrations. 5% feel more related to their traditional festivals. 31% are not concerned by both celebrations. The 9% rest are those involve in national celebration.

This figure demonstrates that a citizen does not make any opposition between belonging to the national community and their ethno-regional community. This means that individual held several identities at the same time. This joint Tajfel and Turner approach on individual identity that stated that individual can have several identities and express it according to circumstances.

The fact that some participants declare their feelings to be concerned with both the national and ethnic celebration could be considered with compatibility as a nation in construction. In our point of view, there is not incompatibility because one does not exclude another.

Question 9: How do you consider yourself compared to other ethnic groups?

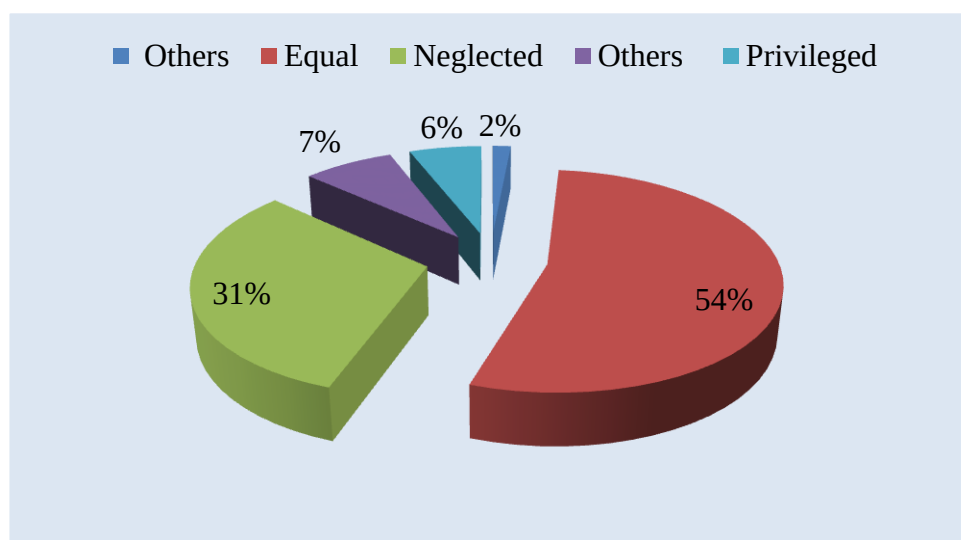


Figure 9: The perception of other ethnic groups

This question aimed at knowing the feeling citizens as compare to other ethno regional groups. 54% said that they are equal, 31% considered that they are neglected only 6 % felt privileged when the rest of 9% could not determine their situation compare to others.

Through this figure we can say that, firstly participants are conscious of the fact that the situation of ethno-regional groups are substantially similar, hence it would be inappropriate to allow ethnic leaders to present themselves as defenders of these groups. The responses on the allocation of resources and representation should be regulated without the involvement of ethnic leaders through memoranda. Secondly, other groups are deeply neglected, thus the “supposed” policy of regional balance and social equity does not fulfil its role or is not implemented as it should. This confirmed the fact that the allocation of resources and appointments of civil servants to higher functions obeys to the logic of patronage and clientelism.

Question 10: Do you believe that Cameroonians are united in joy and pains?

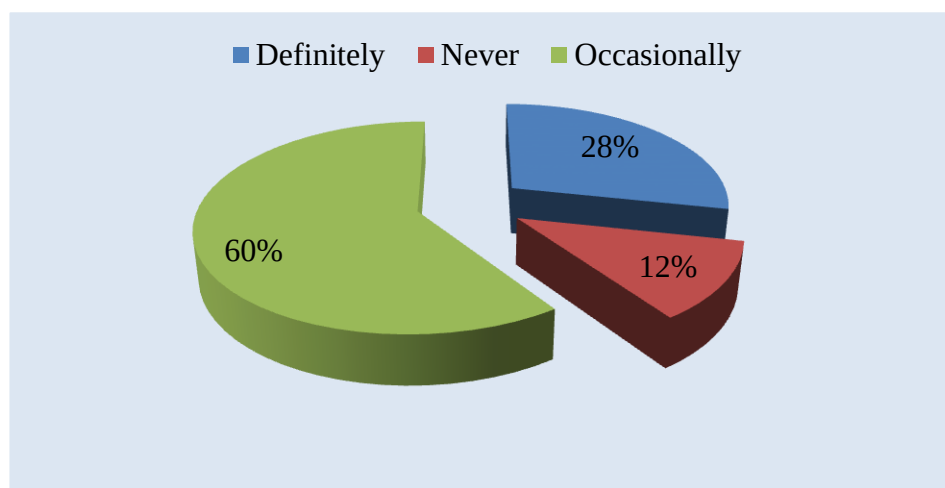


Figure 10: Cameroonians solidarity

The objective of this question was to measure the level of solidarity that citizens conceive of the collective thinking's. Joys and pains are collectively share in national

circumstances, such as football where most of the time everyone is concerned no matter the tribe.

Through the representation, 60% argued that Cameroonians are occasionally solidary. 28% are definitely and 12% are not at all considering Cameroonians as solitary citizens.

Thus, the expression of patriotism is a matter of conjuncture (circumstance) in Cameroon. It is mostly expressed during joyful and painful moments.

The expression of patriotism in Cameroon is observed when the country is faced with a serious threat. The example can be observed in the Northern part of Cameroon that is facing the threat of a terrorist group known as BOKO HARAM and during the 1990s border crisis between Cameroon and Nigeria. Cameroonians equally expressed their patriotism during sport competitions, such as world cup competition etc.

CONCLUSION

Reach at the end of our study that focused on the demands of ethno-regional groups expressed in the form of memorandum and in relation with the construction of national identity in Cameroon. Many difficulties related to insufficient documents have been faced with the realization of this work. Nevertheless, we carried our studies basing on data's collected.

The problematic of this work was to investigate and to find out if ethno-regional requests constitute a threat to national identity. The hypotheses was built on the assumption that these claims could have a negative impact on national identity. To bring answer to this question, Nationalism has been adopted as a theoretical framework, Modernism and ethno symbolist approaches permitted to understand and explain the basis of Cameroonian national identity. Thus, Cameroon is a socio-historical construction, according to the modernist approach which argued that the nation does not create nationalism, but nationalism creates nation. In fact, the discovery of Cameroon is related to European penetration in Africa, particularly Germans penetration and the signing of the Germano-Douala treaty of 1884. This treaty established an international recognition of Cameroon and its international boundaries. The establishment of European sphere of influence in Cameroon was later on challenge by the birth and action of nationalist movement (UPC). So we can affirm without any doubt that the conceptualization of Cameroonian national consciousness corresponds to the birth of the national liberation movements that worked harder to established throughout the country their marks, and carry the country to independence.

We also realized that the construction of national identity in Cameroon is a dynamic process because each period of Cameroonian history is marked with the challenge of producing an integrated national community. The first period was that of the fight against colonialism and the accession to independence, the next step was that of re-

enforcing the basis of the State and the nation. Nowadays, emphasis is placed on the consolidation of the State-nation base on the philosophy or theories of ethnic justice globally analyze as equity between ethno-regional groups.

In chapter three concerning memorandum, we observed that memorandum is a form of political participation used by ethno-regional leaders to defend the interest of their ethno-regional communities. These actions raised a political and academic debate on national identity, especially concerning the place of ethnicity in the political arena. The result of inquiries shows that the debate still continues with divergent ideas. On the one hand, we have thinkers who believe that the state must build policies based on the ethno-regional balances and this approach is actually adopted. During the monolithic period, requests of ethnical nature were not tolerated. During the intermediate period between the fight for independence and democracy, the emphasis was put on the national construction under the Jacobinism model.

We realized that memoranda can negatively influence some pillars of national identity. Nevertheless, the production of memorandum in his nature is not anti-democratic, but it needs a legal framework to prevent ethnicity drift.

From the model of the identity theory given by Rawi and other researchers highlighting the struggle for self-determination, anti-colonialism and unification, it could be considered as elements of the construction of National identity in Cameroon. Equally from the point of view of the definition of national identity given by Smith, it can be said that Cameroon has a national identity, it is true that sometimes speeches of political leaders during the struggle for independence concerning the unity of political leaders became doubtful with the advent of Europeans. It can be deduced from the above elements that the Cameroonian nation was not given, but resulted from a process of social and historical construction.

The result of inquiry shows that the idea of imagined community is present in the mind of Cameroonian citizens. Those results create doubt on ethno-regional leaders actions which are mostly based on consolidating their positions at the detriment of the general interest of the group in which they said to belong and pretend to defend. It also illustrates the doubt on the actions of those elites.

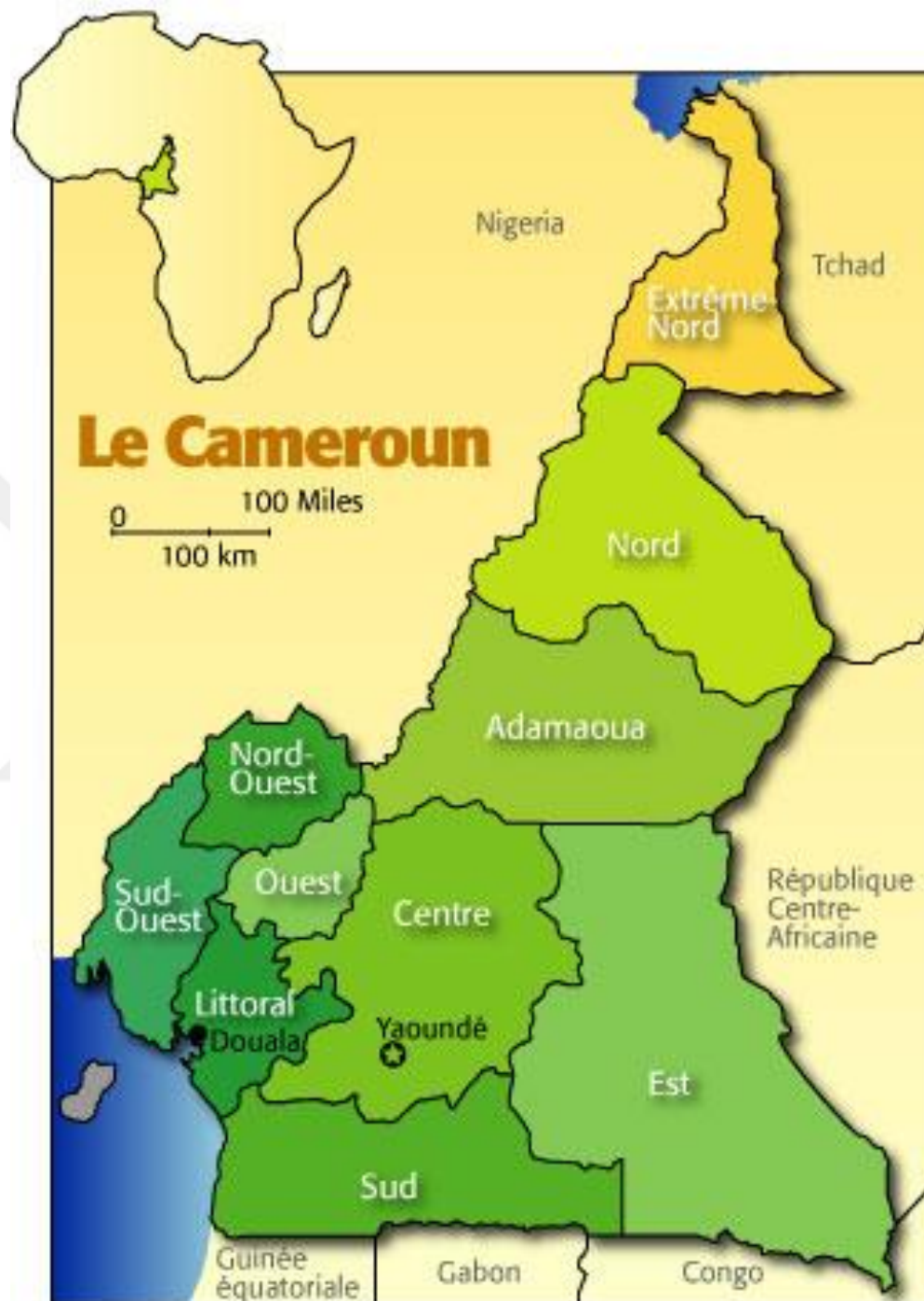
This work could be considered as a starting point of research in post-colonial States in Africa. The memorandum is undoubtedly an original form of political participation, especially in the political life of Cameroon. From this point, it will be very interesting to know if throughout the world there are not others original forms of political participation.



APPENDIXES

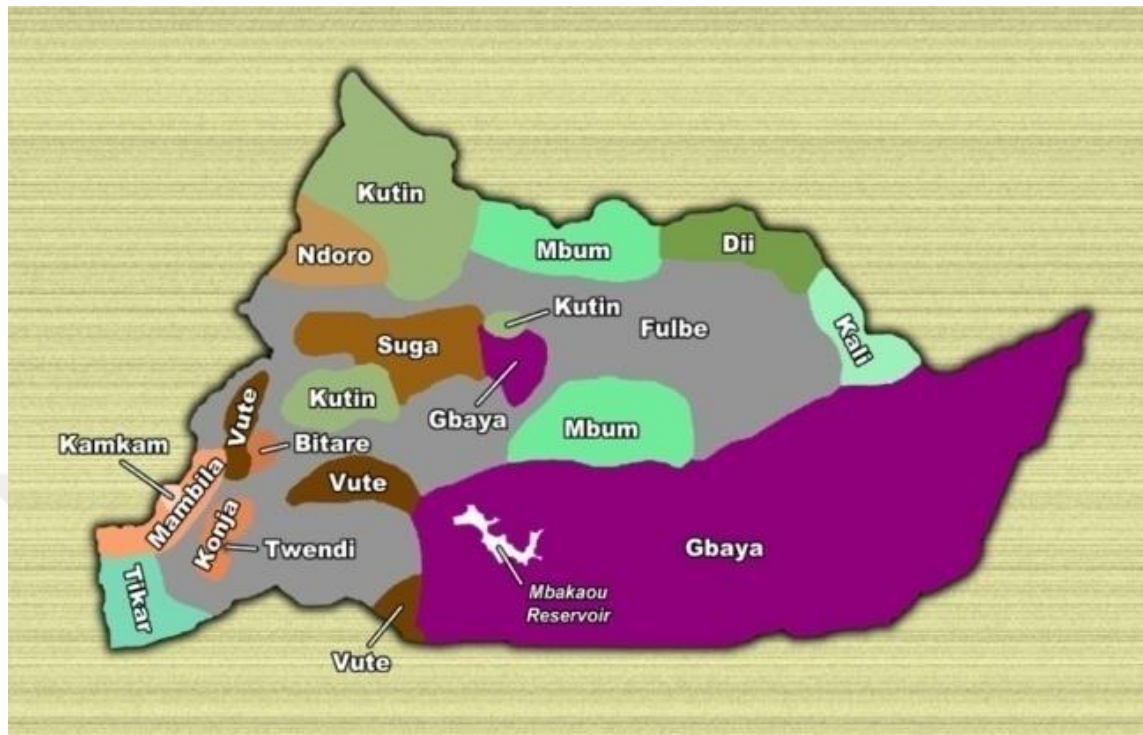
Appendix 1: Cameroon map _____	85
Appendix 2: Ethnic groups of the Adamawa region _____	86
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Appendix 1: Cameroon map¹³⁹



¹³⁹ http://www.afvcameroun.com/provinces_cam_zoom.html 17.3.2016

Appendix 2: Ethnic groups of the Adamawa region¹⁴⁰



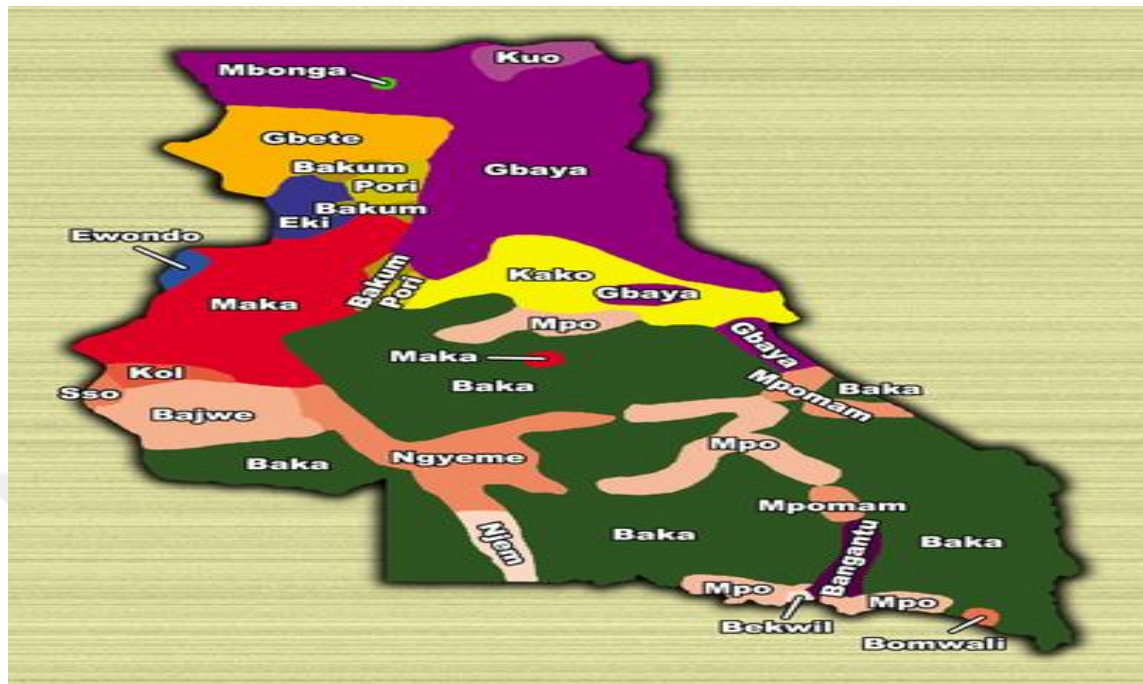
Appendix 3: Ethnic of the Centre region¹⁴¹



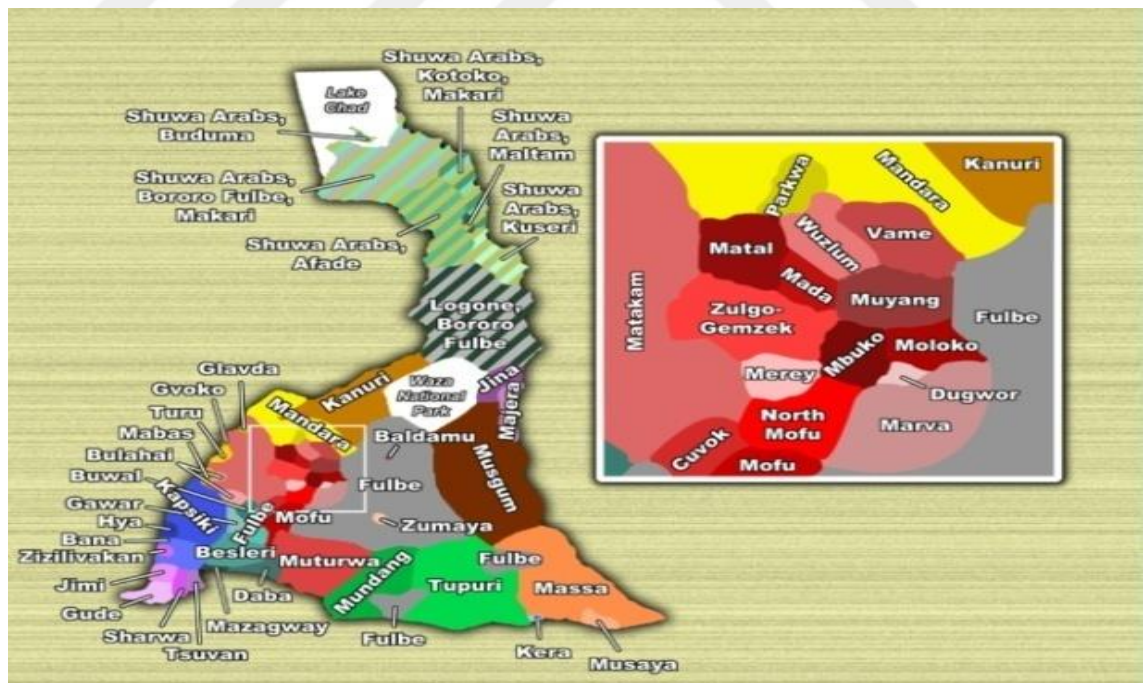
¹⁴⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adamawa_Region#/media/File:Adamawa_Province_ethnic_groups.png, [Access11.12.2014]

¹⁴¹ [En.wikipedia.org/wiki/Centre_Region_\(Cameroon\)#/media/File:Centre_Province_ethnic_groups.png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Centre_Region_(Cameroon)#/media/File:Centre_Province_ethnic_groups.png), [Access11.1.2014]

Appendix 4: Ethnic groups of the Eastern region¹⁴²



Appendix 5: Ethnic groups of the Far North region¹⁴³



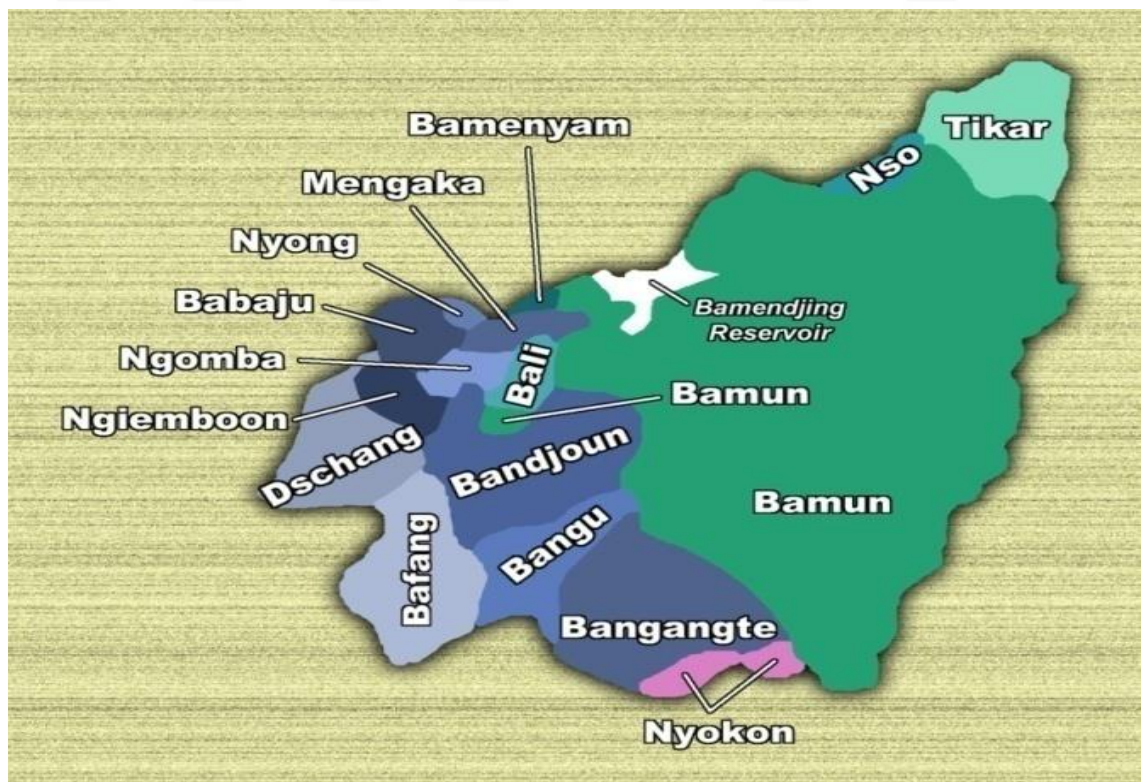
¹⁴² [En.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_Region_\(Cameroon\)#/media/File:East_Province_ethnic_groups.png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_Region_(Cameroon)#/media/File:East_Province_ethnic_groups.png), [Access 11.1.2014]

¹⁴³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Extreme_North_Province_ethnic_groups.png, [Access 11.1.2014]

Appendix 6: Ethnic groups of the North region¹⁴⁴



Appendix 7: Ethnic groups of the West region¹⁴⁵



¹⁴⁴ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Region_\(Cameroon\)#/media/File:North_Province_ethnic_groups.png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Region_(Cameroon)#/media/File:North_Province_ethnic_groups.png), [Access: 11.1.2014]

¹⁴⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:West_Province_ethnic_groups.png, [Access: 11.1.2014]

Appendix 8: Ethnic groups of the South region¹⁴⁶



¹⁴⁶ [h//en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Region_\(Cameroon\)#/media/File:South_Province_ethnic_groups.png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Region_(Cameroon)#/media/File:South_Province_ethnic_groups.png), [Access: 11.1.2014]

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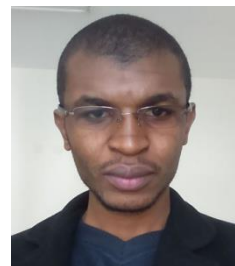
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CURRICULUM VITAE

ZOUBEROU WOUKOUO NSANGO

Nationality: Cameroonian
 Date of birth: 04-09-1988
 Place of birth: Foumban-Cameroon
 Marital status: Married
 Tel.: 0538 251 84 31
 Email: ali.zoubair@yahoo.com



Yenidoğan Mah. Pazar 2. Sk. Esnafılar Sit F BL 1. Giriş NO: 12 D: 2. Talas -Kayseri

Education

Degree	Field	Institution	Year	Status
Undergraduate	Political sciences and public administration	University of Yaoundé 2	2010	Graduate
Master	International relations and strategical studies	University of Yaoundé 2	2012	Not graduate
Master	Political sciences and public administration	Erciyes University	2014-2016	Current

Work experience

2014 Economic forum of the Confederation of Turkish entrepreneurs **Translator**

- From Turkish to French (vice versa)
- From Turkish to English (vice versa)

2014-2015 (9 months)

Çetindoor

Assistant Selling Manager

Job Responsibilities: Supports sales and marketing managers by tracking, investigating, and reporting sales informations

- Analyzing and forwarding weekly action summaries
- Identifying alternate means for filling orders; notifying managers and customers
- Provides sales vs. projection results by preparing and forwarding sales tracking reports
- Managing communication with existing client to maintain long term relationship through various modes such as telephone and e-mail

- Translator: between the head of the company and the customers, translating administrative documents

Skills and qualifications

- Reporting Skills
- Administrative Writing Skills
- Self-Development
- Team worker and natural leader
- Creative
- Capacity to work under stress
- Problem solving
- Professionalism
- Microsoft Office Skills
- Research and analytical skills
- Understanding and providing a customer focused
- Taking initiatives

Language Skills:

French: Perfect

English: Intermediary

Turkish: Intermediary- Turkish language certificated (C1)

